

THE ACADEMY.

A Record of Literature, Learning, Science, and Art.

"INTER SILVAS ACADEMI QUERERE VERUM."

GENERAL LITERATURE AND ART:—

	PAGE
Sainte Beuve's <i>Proudhon</i>	61
Hake's <i>Parables and Tales</i>	64
Nichol's <i>Hannibal</i>	65
Fetis' <i>Histoire generale de la Musique</i>	65
Literary and Art Notes	66
New Publications	67

PHYSICAL SCIENCE:—

	PAGE
Boswell Syme's <i>English Botany</i>	68
Notes on Scientific Work (Geography, Chemistry, Zoology)	69
New Publications	71

PHILOLOGY:—

	PAGE
Comparetti's <i>Virgilio nel Medio Evo</i>	71
Intelligence	79
Contents of the Journals	79
New Publications	80
Advertisements	80

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General Literature and Art.

P.-J. Proudhon. Sa vie et sa correspondance. Par C.-A. Sainte Beuve. Michel Lévy.

THE literary world was surprised and somewhat shocked when, in 1865, the *Revue Contemporaine* published the first of the *Etudes* collected in the present volume. Sainte Beuve, it was well known, was the most indulgent as well as the most conscientious and penetrating of critics; but why he should go out of his way to tolerate the intolerant foe of property, God, and the romantic literature—how, not content with tolerating, he should evidently sympathize and avowedly admire,—these were indeed perplexing questions. In the work as it now appears (still unfortunately incomplete), the points of sympathy are made more evident than the grounds of admiration; it is Proudhon as a man rather than as an author that the critic aims at appreciating and vindicating, and though in his case the two characters blend more closely than usual, the positive value of his literary work is less clearly defined than is customary with Sainte Beuve. This defect might have been supplied had the life, which stops before 1848, been continued down to the date when Proudhon delivered his protest against the effeminate literature of the day in *La Justice dans la Révolution*, or discussed the question of literary copyright by the light of his peculiar views about property in general. But it is easy to see that what first attracted the attention of the eminent *feuilletonist* to the not less eminent pamphleteer was a certain versatile catholicity of mind common to both, while on a nearer acquaintance it appeared that the revolutionary economist and the romantic poet had a still deeper ground of sympathy in the scepticism which was their common salvation from the opposite dangers, charlatanism and platitude. Sainte Beuve was touched to find a politician, an agitator, like Proudhon, professing, not sound philosophy, but any philosophy, showing, not a correct critical taste, but at least a sense of the existence of taste. Proudhon, on the other hand, could not but be mollified, on the rare occasions when the two came in contact, by the complete absence of prejudice in the Imperial senator, who looked upon property as an affair of police regulation, and was not prepared to maintain that anybody had a divine right to anything, but

wished sincerely well to the many practical reforms that such a doctrine suggests.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was born at Besançon, in January, 1809. His father worked in a brewery, his mother was a peasant girl who had been in service; but they gave their son what education they could, and at fourteen he began to frequent the public library of the town; and astonished the librarian by sometimes asking for eight or ten books at a sitting. At nineteen he took to printing as a trade, and after making the tour of France as a journeyman, and passing through the intermediate grades of compositor and *prote*, he became a corrector for the press, and found means to learn Latin and a little Hebrew while revising the proofs of an edition of the Fathers and the Vulgate. What he learnt in this way was certainly better than nothing, and enabled him to write an Essay on Grammar, which served as a title for his election to a pension of 1,500 francs, tenable for three years, which the Academy of Besançon had to award to the most promising poor student of the place. It gave a piquancy to his later controversial writings that he was one of the few French laymen who could quote Scripture, and his habit of beginning every discussion rather "*avant la création du monde*," may have seemed to himself and the more candid of his proletarian readers, as an earnest of scientific impartiality. His occasional display of obsolete or undigested learning was never more than a harmless pedantry, not affecting the substance of his real work; but his judgment was usually so clear that we have to think of him as practically self-taught to explain the peculiarity. His intellectual sympathies were so varied that whatever subject he knew anything about interested him, and consequently found a place in the general scheme of his meditations; but as his knowledge was far from universal these subsidiary studies do not join on to the rest as harmoniously as if they had been deliberately chosen. Sainte Beuve lays some stress on this unfamiliar side of Proudhon, as a *savant* spoilt, and it certainly appears, from letters to his earliest and most intimate friends, as if there had been a time when philology or metaphysics might have offered scope enough for his reforming zeal. His pension was forestalled to discharge his business debts (his partner in a printing speculation had committed suicide), and it was during the three lonely years of privation, bordering

on misery, which he spent in studying at Paris, that he seems first to have accepted as a vocation the redress of the economic wrongs of his order. In his first memoir, containing the famous definition, "Property is theft," he calls himself "chercheur de vérité, en grec skeptikos," yet just before the publication of the work he had written to a friend, "pray God I may find a publisher; it may be the salvation of the country." All through life his mental attitude remained the same. He believed there were salutary economical truths waiting to be discovered; while in the first fervour of production he believed that he had already discovered and was able to reveal them: calmer reflection or the indifference of the world would then persuade him that the revelation was still incomplete; but he never made his faith in the reality of the truths he was seeking depend on the success of his individual efforts; nearly all his outbursts of hope and pride end with a sigh of self-distrust: "Heaven forbid that I should magnify my part: I am telling my dreams." "Happy, thrice happy, they who can be satisfied with themselves!" is his answer to the taunt that he wishes to demolish everything, private property, community of goods, monarchy, democracy, God and the devil, and is not even satisfied with himself. He never troubled himself to avoid inconsistencies: to see a truth was to be obliged to tell it: if he had failed to see it before, so much the worse, but still, better late than never. Only, as he grew older and less sanguine, his discoveries and his criticism became more uniformly negative and destructive: it was still his ambition to reconstruct, but time and allies failed him. Sainte Beuve does not, of course, discuss at length the elaborate arguments by which Proudhon defends his initial paradox; probably he thought that eternal justice and reason had as little to do with the right of possession as with the right of property, and his criticism is only "il s'était logé dans la tête un *absolu* de vérité; il méconnaissait l'éternel à *peu près* des choses humaines et la marche boiteuse des sociétés." But this is not quite just, for Proudhon, while believing in the absolute equity of what he calls *mutualism*, never ventured to prophesy its universal acceptance, or to ignore the passions which founded and perpetuate the present anti-social order. His favourite metaphysical doctrine was of a necessary flux, rhythm, or opposition throughout the universe; the lameness of progress was an *a priori* truth, and it was certainly present to his mind when he gave Prince Napoleon the famous answer: "'Mais,' dit le prince étonné, et qui ne s'étonne pourtant pas volontiers, 'quelle société rêvez vous donc?'—'Prince,' répondit Proudhon avec son éclat mordant, 'je rêve une société où je serais guillotiné comme conservateur.'" Opposition was a law of nature, and he was its prophet; if his friends were in power they were sure to go too far (l'éternel à *peu près* des choses humaines) and it would then be his hard fate to oppose their errors; hence his comparative content with an established government that he was free to oppose, like the Empire, or, what he had thought more probable, Henri V.; since offences must come, and since it was his mission to call down woe upon the man through whom they came, he preferred, other things being equal, to have to denounce a Bonaparte or a Bourbon rather than Louis Blanc or Pierre Leroux. He was one of those impracticable politicians who take the crimes of an enemy as a matter of course, and are only seriously distressed by the backslidings of their own partisans. But we are anticipating 1848.

His *Mémoires sur la Propriété* contained the germ of the mutualistic theory of morality which he never actually developed into a system. He does not here seek the origin of the idea of justice in general, which the defenders of property were not likely to deny; but, taking the moral law for granted, he places its sanction in the objective characteristics

of the race, which makes a law to itself of whatever has to be done or forborne under penalty of the disintegration of society. It is admitted to be theft or dishonesty for one man to take an unfair advantage of another, and his argument is that every advantage is "unfair," because no one consents willingly to a bargain by which he is a loser; his consent can only be secured by force or fraud, constraint or deception, both of which are unjust. The only lawful property is the possession of the instruments of production, and if these are limited in extent (like land) they ought to be equally divided, even at the cost of limiting the production of some, a consequence which, it may be observed, could scarcely follow under a "mutualist" régime, though he accepts it, apparently regarding nature as a great capitalist whose wages fund is limited. Insufficient wages lead to competition amongst the labourers for a monopoly of work, which is a fresh source of inequality and misery, or rather an artificial reproduction of the natural "antinomy," or strife, between man and God. God, in his second famous paradox, "Dieu, c'est le mal," seems to stand for all the brute forces of the natural world which make the conditions of human life; but the conclusion to which all his far-fetched lines of reasoning point is simple and harmless enough: that in the battle with nature the interest of the race is one and identical, and that the community loses, while individuals cannot gain, when men, instead of uniting against the common foe, waste their strength in empty rivalry or the vain endeavour to get the better of each other. Men thought it was possible to overreach their neighbours, but this was an "erreur de compte," a simple miscalculation, though it reduced society to a state of things "où la production, enfin, était servitude, et l'échange escroquerie mutuelle." He ends by showing that when every one is bent on exacting the most he may and on giving the least he must, the friction of society in its contracts and exchanges will cause a positive fractional loss on every undertaking, resulting in a sensible deficit in the common wealth. Political economists may object that the friction is moral, and does not affect production, but this "erreur de compte" is amiable, especially as coming from an ex-operative, whose *livret* was full of favourable testimonials.

Proudhon's second considerable work, "Système des Contradictions Economiques, ou Philosophie de la Misère," is indispensable for the history of his opinions, but might be spared without much loss to his reputation or influence as a writer. In 1844-6 he believed himself to be accomplishing for France the work which his German friends assured him Hegel—continued by Strauss and Feuerbach—had done for Germany. A sprightly young German atheist who had come to Paris to interview and evangelize the French socialists, concluded a lecture on the neo-Hegelian philosophy "Donc l'anthropologie, c'est la métaphysique en action." "Et moi," said Proudhon, "je vais démontrer que l'économie politique, c'est la métaphysique en action." But as his political economy was ready made and circumstantial, while his metaphysics had to be evolved from conscientiously scanty premises, it was not always easy to connect his particular conclusions with the *a priori* truth of which they were supposed to be the counterpart. His "Contradictions" are a mixture of Kant's antinomies, Hegel's *Gegensatz*, and his own rooted conviction that every thing has a wrong and a right side. Besides the fundamental antagonism between man and nature, he dwells on the tendency of all things to decay as a step towards renewal. Religion is purified and elevated by the liberty of thought and criticism which finally destroys it; in the state, the principle of authority is undermined by the attempt to give it an unassailable foundation in the supremacy of the people, for the people; to be supreme,

must be free as well as absolute, which is the real meaning of his third paradox: "the true form of government is anarchy." Elsewhere he declares the government of man by man to be slavery, and it seems to have had a narrow escape of a still harder name: "Cannibalism still subsists amongst us: witness the Eucharistic sacrament and the Code Penal!" A government is by nature the "scourge of God," and he was accused, not without some reason, of trying to square the political circle, when he continued to preach revolution after explaining that the only durable revolution is one in which the masses do not become the government, and the government does not become revolutionary. He looked upon revolution as an organic process, while every government is by the nature of the case mechanical and executive; the social revolution would be accomplished whenever society had changed its mind, and the political revolution would be ripe when the people had learnt to prefer the blessings of anarchy to the delusive glories of self-government. With the same inconvenient logic, he opposed the *droit au travail* as wrong in principle, because a right against the state or the moneyed classes implied that both institutions were legitimate; while he consented to its recognition in practice as sure to be fatal, first to property and then of course to itself. In 1848 such a man could do little but, as Proudhon did, keep his hands clean, and get sent to prison as soon as possible for an attack on the coming tyrant. Without being in the least *doctrinaire*, he was too scrupulous and too logical to be a successful man of action, and on looking back he admitted as much with the melancholy impartiality peculiar to him. "J'ai appris à mes dépens qu'aux instants mêmes où je me croyais le plus libre, je n'étais encore dans le torrent des passions politiques auquel je prétendais faire obstacle, qu'un instrument de cette inintelligible Providence que je nie, que je récusé."

In 1856-7 when Proudhon was preparing his book "La Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise," for which he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, he had several conversations with Sainte Beuve about the literature of the day, and the latter endeavoured, he thought at the time with some success, to bring the reformer to a more lenient view of its most eminent representatives, notably George Sand. He was soon undeceived. Proudhon was almost a fanatic in what regarded morality. The idea of duty was essential to his political theories, and if the claims of art were once admitted to compete with the claims of morality, what would become of the *point d'appui* for his economical reforms? Other more legitimate considerations had their weight as well. Sainte Beuve quotes a letter written in 1840, in which he develops in his paradoxical fashion the opinion of Fontanes, "tous les vers sont faits": all the correct verses that are not stupid have been written, and he was not disposed to tolerate incorrectness merely for the sake of change or in the name of liberty; art, too, had its duties, and his heresy, according to modern notions, was in supposing that its duties were ascertainable by reason, instead of by the aesthetic intuition which, on his own confession (*Du Principe de l'Art*), he lacked. Yet, it is Sainte Beuve who says so, "Proudhon eut été un fort bon et même un fin critique littéraire; il en avait l'étoffe"; and one has only to remember Lessing to know how large a share pure intellect may have in the highest class of criticism. Some of his judgments are fair, and neatly expressed. Lamartine was incapable of intellectual achievements; his *Méditations Poétiques* purely negative, a lamentation over the end of the ages of faith: "*pas ce côté funéraire ce poème se rattache à la révolution; aussi le succès fut grand et mérité;*" but this vein exhausted, the poet seems to him a "littérateur déshérité"; and of Victor Hugo, who, while hunting

subjects in mediæval Catholicism or the Mahometan East, does not see the revolution couching at his feet, he asks, "n'est ce pas aussi un poète déshérité?" Of course now Victor Hugo's name suggests the further doubt whether Proudhon was right in thinking the revolutionary idea a sufficient inheritance for art; his criticism remains negative, like the "idea" of the romantic literature he denounces, for though it were granted that the highest art always expresses sound moral ideas, he never defined what other elements were necessary to its existence. "Toute cette littérature érotique" seemed to him trivial as well as inartistic, and he would not admit that any treatment could make the loves of *Indiana* or *Feanne* as fit a subject for art as the old-fashioned conflict between love and duty typified in *Chimène*. But then, unfortunately, as his own remarks on *Facelyn* prove, men's notions of duty fluctuate, and a sacrifice that is tragical to one generation is grotesque, nay, immoral, to another. The ideal of beauty may not, perhaps, be naturally more stable than that of virtue, but he does it less than justice by making it dependent on another variable quantity, because to him it appeared naturally and necessarily secondary. This is the only way of accounting for the fact that after declining to distinguish between the matter and the form in the works of such artists as George Sand and Victor Hugo, after all his tirades against licentious idealism, he ended as an apologist of the "realist" Courbet. In his secret mind he seems to have thought that Courbet's pictures were too ugly to be seductive, and accordingly he interpreted their cynicism as a backhanded tribute to the beauty of virtue. There is much clever writing and some good art-criticism in the work, one of his last, and published posthumously—which contains this curious corollary of aesthetic puritanism.

If authors had been influential enough as a class to be worth outraging, Proudhon would probably have enlivened his book *Les Majorats Littéraires* with a *sous-titre*, "Copyright is simony." Ignoring the existence of publishers, he treated the question as one between men of genius, the discoverers of truth, and the general public, which he held to be capable of apprehending all truths when fitly set before it. Works of genius being priceless, it was absurd to attempt to estimate their money value, and besides, in a "mutualist" society all kinds of work will be paid on the same scale; meanwhile, he argued, it was impossible that the same thing should be sold twice, and an intellectual creation ceases to be the exclusive property of the original owner when it has once been—for a consideration—given to the outside world. To know a thing is to have all the possession possible of its truth, and whoever has learnt it owns it as much as the first discoverer, or indeed, if he can apply his knowledge, even more. Proudhon in his zeal for equality would sometimes go so far as to denounce the tyranny of talent; a dead level of educated mediocrity did not terrify him in imagination, and he had an optimistic theory that the different capacities in society are proportioned to its wants—that one Newton is enough for many centuries, and that Newtons will certainly not be made rarer by anything that makes astronomical text-books cheap. To console the authors for any pecuniary loss his plan would inflict on them, he magnifies their office to hearts content, and suggests the example of Mahomet, who, though by no means exempt from literary vanity, derived no pecuniary profit from the Koran. In the discussions which gave rise to the *brochure* it is noticeable that Sainte Beuve was also on the side opposed to privilege.

It is to be hoped that the suggestion of his biographer will be acted on, and Proudhon's complete correspondence published whenever it can be done without offence; but we

shall still have to regret the incompleteness of the little work which has shown us two able men in a somewhat new light equally advantageous to both.

H. LAWRENNY.

Parables and Tales. By T. Gordon Hake. Chapman and Hall, London. 1872.

DR. HAKE has re-issued the four parables which were generally regarded as the most telling and taking portion of his former volume, which was published a year or two ago, and received, we fear, more recognition from the press than from the public, together with four new poems, of which the last is a parable. Of the four parables which appeared before the *Academy* has spoken already. "Old Souls" and the "Lily of the Valley" are reprinted either without alteration or with alterations purely verbal; they stand still to all intents as they stood in the *World's Epitaph*, which was issued for private circulation in 1866. "Deadly Nightshade" was altered for the worse before publication; and though it has been elaborately retouched for the present edition, we hardly think it has been improved. In its original form the versification was no doubt perceptibly rough and bald, and even now it has not been raised to the same high level of simple elegance as is maintained in three at least of the new poems; still, superficially, something has no doubt been gained. But the great merit of the poem as it stood in 1866 was its faithful actuality, and this has only been impaired by successive efforts at simplification and emphasis. The misery of the mother and child was more effective when we were told that it was farmed by the lodging-house keeper; and we miss the redeeming trait that from the first she gave the baby its share of the gin. Both these changes were made when the poem was first published in the volume which contained "Madeleine," since then one or two vigorous lines have been pruned away, and two weak stanzas have been added, which may be sufficiently appreciated by the first line of each—"Oh what a theme in evil dwells;" and "A theme more sad in evil dwells." The fourth parable, now called the "Poet"—in its two previous shapes the title was "Immortality"—has been recast still more thoroughly, and here, though doubtfully, we are inclined to think that the changes have been improvements. In its original form the poem was very touching; viewed as the almost undisguised confidence of the author, it expressed all the pathos of the situation of a man who, with the highest aspirations, and with lofty powers both of thought and imagination, finds that he is growing old without having made his mark. The confidence was touching because it was naive; but confidence on such a subject can hardly be naive without being querulous. In its new form the poem is more impersonal, more manly; the arrogance gains dignity by the suppression of complaint, and there is an artistic gain in the picture of the poet's communion with nature which first feeds his aspirations and then stimulates his unrest, and in the sudden revulsion to home which precedes the final solution.

Of the new poems two can hardly be said to have a definite subject. In one the author describes the daily life of a cripple who had to go to the workhouse when his mother died; in the other he describes one of the walks a blind boy used to take with his sister, making her describe everything that she saw. There is a short but complete story in "Mother and Child." A young lady leaving the opera with her lover sees a destitute mother and child crouching under the colonnade; she is haunted by the face of the child, but her lover's image takes its place, and she does not carry out her purpose of searching for them for several days. She finds

them in church, however, before it is too late, is fascinated by the beauty of the baby, detects its resemblance to her lover, and learns that the mother has been discarded for her own sake; whereupon she breaks off the marriage, and adopts the baby. "Old Morality" is perhaps the least satisfactory thing in the book. The versification halts more than elsewhere, and the story is rather obscure and not particularly interesting. So far as we can make it out it appears to be as follows:—A sexton is digging a grave for a popular and estimable squire; while he is thus engaged Old Morality comes up *incognito* and asks for his own epitaph, which naturally the sexton cannot show him. "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart," is really more impressive as well as more intelligible.

Taking the volume as a whole it is much more satisfactory than anything the author has previously published, and we shall be curious to watch its reception by the public, though its reception will not affect our opinion of its value. Popularity is only one element in the success of a painter; it is to be regretted that it still should be almost the only element in the success of the poet. The explanation of course is simple; to say nothing of the fact that a picture only has to be sold once, it takes longer to read a poem than to look at a picture, and it is harder to recognize good work in a poem than we do not care to read twice than in a picture that we do not care to see often. Whether people care about it or not, Dr. Hake's work is certainly very good. To illustrate again from the plastic arts, we should say that he combines at his best the feeling of Flaxman or Blake in his simpler designs with the clear, sober daylight pleasantness, the plain finish, the pathetic repose of good Dutch painting. It would be natural in some respects to compare him to Wordsworth; but Wordsworth, even when he is most deliberately homely, is more spiritual, less concrete. Wordsworth only gives us human nature as it existed among the hills and lakes of Cumberland, and in the few and early poems, where he tries to bring out the pathos of a town subject, he always conceives it with a perceptible something of rustic surprise. Perhaps it is another side of the same tendency that Wordsworth always treats common things as if they were uncommon, whereas Dr. Hake rather insists upon their commonness as a new element of their significance. Then again Wordsworth's mysticism is given off, so to speak, by a rational philosophy, which can be stated separately; Dr. Hake's mysticism is a substitute for articulate thought, and in this reminds us of Blake. Of course the mysticism of Blake is far subtler, richer, deeper, as well as wilder, but the advantage is not all on his side; there is something infantile and fragmentary about Blake's best poems; while if Dr. Hake's inspiration is more diluted, its expression is always—at least in this volume—mature and complete. Still it would be interesting to know how far the rediscovery of Blake helped Dr. Hake to form his style and obtain full possession of his talent. Blake's influence, if it existed, would certainly be a natural and sufficient explanation of the transition to the manner of *Parables and Tales* from the manner of *Poetic Lucubrations* which the same author published in 1828, with a doubtful prophecy that "the world would find" them "after many days." *Poetic Lucubrations* have a certain sincerity and depth; otherwise they produce the effect of a crabbed and unmusical continuation of Campbell, with a sort of uneasy craving to be wild and volcanic without quite knowing how.

It is obvious from what we have said of the level excellence of Dr. Hake's best poems that extracts do him less than justice; we quote the three prettiest stanzas from the "Cripple," with the warning that they are far more valuable in their place:—

"A sheep-worm walk along the brook
The cripple loved to trace; the gush
Of water thrall'd him as it shook
The ragged roots of the green rush,
Which, with its triple flowers of pink,
Stood ripe for gathering at the brink.

"The heather bristles round the knoll,
Where inlaid moss and leaflets blend:
'Tis there he sits and ends his stroll,
His crutch beside him as his friend,
And looks upon the other bank,
Where blue forget-me-not grows rank;

"Where purple loosestrife paints the sedge;—
Where bryony and yellow bine,
Locked in bluish-bramble, climb the hedge,
And white convolvulus enshrine,
Nestled in leaves, they all appear
Each other's flowers to nurse and rear."

There are eight illustrations besides the frontispiece by Mr. Arthur Hughes. None are wanting in grace and feeling. In the frontispiece and one or two others we seemed to trace an excess of childlike sweetness, and even a defect of manly knowledge. The starving child in the illustration to "Deadly Nightshade" is very pathetic, but the smug tradesmen in the background are a little too fit for a picture-alphabet of the very highest order. On the other hand, both the tinker and the tipsy watchman in the illustration to "Old Souls" are thoroughly good, they have exactly the combination of quaintness and power which suits the poem. There is so nothing grandiose in the cowering mother in the illustration to "Mother and Child"; and the stooping figure of Time is certainly impressive, though it is difficult to make out what the radiant boy seated by the bier has to do with the dead poet, and impossible to make out what Time is kissing, or how to complete the figure which seems to lie under the half-lifted pall. The elaborate cover combines a great deal of ingenious symbolism with a general effect both rich and pleasing; perhaps it is too realistic, the details strike us as too emphatic to be delicate.

G. A. SIMCOX.

Hannibal: An Historical Drama. By John Nichol, B.A., Oxford. Maclehose and Co., Glasgow. 1873.

It is difficult to know by what standard an historical drama ought to be tried, for history is not fruitful in really dramatic actions or catastrophes, and the historical dramatist has to compromise as he can with his story and his characters, and look for ideal completeness of effect rather to the general tone of the scenes he selects from history than to any high organic unity which it is possible to establish between them. Certainly Mr. Nichol has maintained a very high level both of elevation and energy through a play that is longer than any of Shakespeare's historical tragedies. His characters talk very vigorously, as well as very cleverly, it never occurs to us that the conversation stands still to give them time to be clever; though there are one or two long descriptive speeches, like that of Sosilus on the march of Hannibal's army through the Pyrenees, and that of Hannibal on the view of Rome, which seem as if they would be more in place in a drama constructed rather on the Greek, than on the Elizabethan model. This is not the only incongruity. Mr. Nichol is known as one of the most distinguished advocates of women's rights; but we doubt whether his clients will thank him for having shown his irrepressible interest in such questions by going out of his way to introduce a *femmelibre* in the person of Fulvia, the daughter of a Roman consul, who leaves everything to be the mistress of Hannibal, and takes the place of Calavia, a daughter of a Campanian senator, who prefers to cheat

her own lover and save her father by marrying Otacilius (whose name is spelt Otalicius throughout the play). After all, Fulvia is a puppet, like Imilce, an imaginary Spanish wife of Hannibal, and though she is more theatrically effective, the effect, such as it is, seems hardly worth purchasing at the expense of such a flagrant anachronism. Of course the ideal purpose of both episodes is to bring out Mr. Nichol's conception of the character of Hannibal, but this is hardly a sufficient justification. In fact, it would have been better to have been satisfied with presenting the great deeds of his hero, without trying to invent a great ideal for him on purpose to make him realize it. Hannibal's heroism, we suspect, was mainly of the silent order: he did not make fine speeches about his mission, or nurse fine feelings about it; he was simply a great *condottiere* at feud with Rome. The greatness he displayed during his long and, upon the whole, successful career, was of a kind to which history can do more justice than fiction. He is only lowered by scenes where he is represented as disguising himself as a spy to see if the guards can be trusted to arrest him, or as giving Mutines a dagger to perform the Happy Despatch. The climax to the play, where Hannibal swears to perform his vow to the uttermost in spite of the death of Hasdrubal, reminds us of a tragedy of Mason's, where the play goes on long after the action is over in order that the heroine may vow with adequate solemnity not to marry again. It is true that Mr. Mason had the excuse of imitating the Greeks. But we do not wish our last word to be of censure. After all, Hannibal is a very spirited and very creditable performance: if Mr. Nichol's great command of the eloquence of dramatic poetry were to be employed on a subject of more concentrated interest he might produce an admirable and lasting work.

G. A. SIMCOX.

Histoire générale de la Musique. Depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours. Tome III^e. Par F. Fétis. Paris. 1872.

In this volume, which treats of the music of ancient Greece and Italy, M. Fétis labours under the serious drawback of very imperfect knowledge of the Greek language. On p. 45 he writes the word *συνήμενον* ("conjoint," a kind of tetrachord) *synêmenon*, adding in a note, "du verbe *σύνειμι*, aller ensemble." This ignorance leads him into more than one doubtful speculation. For instance, he finds in Aristides Quintilianus a table of an ancient scale ("ancient" to a writer of the first century, A.D.) containing two octaves, the lower of which is divided into quarter-tones, the upper into semitones. The notes (of which a facsimile is given on p. 29) are corrupt in all the MSS.: it is plain, however, that they are those of the ordinary Greek notation. Above each is marked the number of quarter-tones (or dieses), counting from the lower end of the scale, and these numbers, which are given in the usual way, by the letters of the alphabet, are mistaken by M. Fétis for an archaic musical notation of wonderful symmetry and perfection. Some interesting but (we fear) fallacious conclusions are based upon the discovery. Again, in the chapter on the Melopœa of the Greeks, M. Fétis has given from Aristoxenus (pp. 204-207) a number of rules which refer to the succession of intervals in a musical scale, but which he takes to refer to the structure of every melody. Naturally he finds that they are "étrangères à l'objet réel de la musique," that they "tombent souvent à faux," that the ancient writers were not true musicians, &c. On the question whether the Greeks were acquainted with harmony (in the modern sense), he has a long but quite inconclusive chapter. The subject is one in which accurate interpretation is peculiarly needed. Yet there is much in the volume which shows both knowledge and ability. The

information given on the subject of the ancient musical instruments must have cost no inconsiderable labour to collect. It is greatly to be regretted that M. Fétis should have undertaken a task for which accurate philological training is an indispensable condition. As it is he has produced a work of misdirected ability, useful possibly as a quarry of materials, but wholly unfitted to hold the place of a standard work.

D. B. MONRO.

NOTES ON LITERATURE AND ART.

A new fortnightly review, on the model of the Parisian *Revue Critique*, has been lately founded in Portugal, under the title *Bibliographia Critica da Historia e Literatura*. The editor, S. A. Coelho, proposes to try the current literature of his own country by the strictest cosmopolitan standards, and to recommend by example and precept the results and methods of modern science and research.

The *Revue des deux Mondes* seems at last to have recovered from the disturbance in its usual placid habits produced by the war. The number for February 1 contains, besides other readable articles, part of a novel ("Méta Holdernis") in M. Victor Cherbuliez's liveliest manner; an account of the popular poetry of Central Asia, by Mme. Dora D'Istria; an unintelligent review of "Middlemarch," by M. Bentzon; M. Guizot *à propos* of *Madame Récamier et ses amis*; and a notice of M. A. de Candolle's *Histoire des Sciences et des Savans depuis deux Siècles*; a work on the plan of Mr. Galton's "Hereditary Genius," containing some fresh and interesting statistics.

Recent excavations in the *Vigna Casali* on the Appian road have disclosed an interesting family sepulchre, apparently of the age of Septimius Severus, with painted walls and sarcophagi covered with mythological subjects, all in a fine state of preservation.

Macmillan (January) contains an interesting paper by Mr. Spalding, on "Instinct," studied chiefly in chickens and other domestic birds, and pointing to the conclusion that Mr. Herbert Spencer's theory of inherited experience meets all the facts of the case, except the popular belief, which it is hard to justify, that instinct has something peculiarly mysterious about it.

The *North American Review* (January) has an article on "Bjornson as a Dramatist," apparently written by a fellow-countryman, which may be recommended to English readers, whose knowledge of Norwegian literature is likely for some time to come to be at best second-hand.

The most brilliant event in Danish literary society this winter has been the production of Herr Ernst von der Recke's clever drama of "Bertran de Born" at the Royal Theatre of Copenhagen. The young poet has achieved great success not only on the boards, but also before the reading public.

Frederick Christian Sibbern, the most eminent of Scandinavian psychologists, has lately died at Copenhagen, in his 88th year.

Buda Pest Review (*Budapesti Szemle*) for January and February, 1873, begins a new series. Edited by M. Paul Gyulay (Pest Ráth). The first article in this number is from the pen of M. Salamon. It is a plea for a freer artistic and scientific handling of the existing materials of Hungarian history.

An article in the same by M. Imre on the neologisms introduced into the Hungarian language during the last hundred years, and on the errors committed in the process of innovation, points out the immense extent of the changes made, far surpassing anything of the like kind in Latin or the modern languages of Western Europe. The article is but the first instalment of a work, to which the Hungarian Academy awarded the Marczi-bányi prize for 1871-72.

M. Pulszky contributes to the same an account of the engraver Marc Antonio Raimundi and his school, followed by a catalogue of the 180 specimens of his work at the National Museum, of which M. Pulszky is director. We have, besides, the first part of an article entitled "Some Glances at the Progress of Natural Science," commenting on Dr. Carpenter's address to the British Association; a chapter from Vambéry's *History of Bokhara*—a critique of Mr. Mill's Programme of the Land Tenure Association, questioning its conclusions; the first of a series of articles by the Manager of the National Theatre on the reorganization of that—for Hungary—important institution. The editor's review of recent Hungarian novels suffers from the extreme slightness of the subject matter. The conventional modicum of poetry, original and translated, and of fiction, with short critical notices of pictures and books, completes the number, which shows almost throughout the influence of English thought and models. Thus we have a translation of the *Saturday Review's* critique of Thomas Maitland or Mr. Buchanan's notorious article.

Some amusing parodies, which originally appeared in an American magazine, have been reprinted by Mr. Hotten, we hope with the sanction of the authors, under the title of *Diversions of the Echo Club*. The writers have not taken individual poems to burlesque, but have tried to compose semi-seriously in the manner of their models; there are no less than four imitations of Browning, all more than tolerable, a very good one of Tennyson's more prosaic idylls, one still better of Poe, on the promissory note for fifty dollars he gave to Greeley, who offered to sell the only autograph of the poet he possessed half-price. Longfellow is well done; so also, so far as we can judge, some other American poets less familiar to an European public. The authors succeed better with their own latest school—Bret Harte, Hay, Whitman, and Joaquin Miller—than with our latest, Swinburne, Morris, and D.G. Rossetti; the imitation of the last is made unrecognizable by the intrusion of weak and obvious criticism.

Gustave Ricard, one of the most distinguished of French portrait painters of the present day, died suddenly at Paris, on Friday, January 24th, at the early age of 49. M. Ricard was born at Marseilles in 1824, and made his first studies in his native town; then he established himself in Paris, and exhibited in the Salon of 1850 a head of a "Young Gipsy Girl," which attracted the attention of both artists and amateurs by the largeness of character and distinction of style which stamped it as the work of a genuine and penetrating artist. In 1852 he obtained the first medal, and in 1853 he produced his fine portrait of Wilhelmine Clauss, and the portrait of Dr. Phillips. In 1855 he exhibited nine portraits and a portrait study. At the Universal Exhibition the special public of artists and connoisseurs found him justifying their high expectations, but he only received from the jury an "honourable mention." In 1857 and in 1859 he still continued to exhibit, sending successively a large number of portraits, of which many have become celebrated in the world of art. Up to this moment Ricard's works were familiar to every frequenter of the Salons; but now satisfied with the position which he had achieved, and irrevocably classed beyond and above the common line, Ricard retired wholly from public exhibitions, only reappearing last year with a portrait of M. Paul de Musset. In Germany his works were well known and highly valued, and quite recently he made a stay in this country, painting several persons more or less known in London society. M. Ricard's powers were not, however, solely devoted to portraiture; he executed for the hotel of M. Paul Demidoff a considerable decorative work of a high order of merit, and was also the author of several decorative panels for M. Lavallée. In these works, as in his portraits, M. Ricard showed the same distinguishing qualities, the same poetry of line, the same profound sobriety which gave strength and beauty to his portraits. Amongst those which have obtained the most marked success we may add to the three above mentioned his portraits of M. Anatole de la Forge, Mme. de Calonne, Mme. Sabatier, M. Arlès Dufour, M. Chenavard. It was on this last mentioned portrait that M. Ricard was engaged but a few hours before the sudden death which snatched him from the many attached

friends who held him dear, and from the assured and successful future which lay before him. We learn from the *Chronique des Arts*, to which we are indebted for much of the above, that M. Ricard was intending to make a serious and considerable exhibition of his works at Vienna, and it is to be hoped that his friends will carry out in his honour those intentions which he has left unfulfilled; such an exhibition would be of the utmost value in helping us to appreciate the true quality and rank of an artist whose refinement of character, width of view, and cultivation of mind stamped everything which he did. The *Figaro* for January 30th contains a careful article on M. Ricard by M. Albert Wolff, and the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* promises us a full and carefully-considered notice.

The *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for February 1 commences with the concluding article on "Les Estampes des peintres graveurs," by M. Henri Delaborde. M. Louis Courajod contributes a first article on the writing and ornamentation of the charters and diplomas in the Museum of the National Archives. M. Saint Cyr de Rayssac continues his notice of the correspondence of Henri Regnault, edited by Arthur Duparc. M. Louis Ménard gives us a study on the Graces as symbol of the social tie. M. René Ménard writes a brilliant superficial article on Portraits in the English School, which resolves itself into a discriminating criticism of Sir Joshua, Gainsborough, and Lawrence, which is however just, as far as it goes. M. Alfred Michiels continues his investigations into the origin of the German school of painting. M. Alfred Darcel, the director of the *Gobelins*, contributes a second article on the archaeological movement inasmuch as it concerns the middle ages. The number is accompanied by a vigorous etching by M. Rajon after Gainsborough's portrait of Mrs. Siddons. It is a forcible, spirited, attractive piece of work of thoroughly artistic quality, only it is the quality of M. Rajon, not of Gainsborough. The vivid, sharp, acute transitions of tone do not stand in any appreciable relation to the suave refinement, and naive, sweet, harmonious quickness of the original. One might fitly say of M. Rajon's translation from Gainsborough as was said of Morghen's rendering of Leonardo's Last Supper, "*si belle de burin si fausse de caractère.*"

M. Le Gros, who is now in Rome, has left behind him a painting which will worthily represent his powers in the forthcoming exhibition of the Royal Academy. At Boulogne yearly takes place the pathetic ceremony of blessing the waters when the fishing fleet set out on their hazardous voyage. This ceremony forms the subject of the picture; the moment chosen is that when the priestly procession has approached the brink of the sea and the benediction is actually being bestowed. But the interest of the painting does not centre on this group, which is indeed seen but in the distance forming only the continuation of the snake-like curve of the composition, conducting the eye to the centre point of bright, fathomless, sun-lit sea, and there ending, just as the massive rocks on the opposite side of the composition form the solid base and point of departure. The interest of the whole centres in the two groups subtly detached from each other, and so made to carry on the circular wave of line up to the procession, which finally diverts it to the sea. These groups are composed of the wives and mothers who are praying and hoping on shore. The right-hand group face the spectator, then occurs the break, and the remainder kneel, turning their faces to the waters. But this finely felt and masterly composition is not the only charm of M. Le Gros' powerful work. The draperies are faultlessly excellent and severe, and the hands are drawn with admirable precision and sense of character; it is not until we dwell on the faces that any suggestion of adverse criticism arises in our minds. Here we feel a want of transparency, which destroys the flesh tint and conveys even into the beautiful group of the young mother and child a dash of unreality. And surely M. Le Gros, who can give us such strong, full, manly work, can give us this, so that when we see draperies and hands which stand forth in life, in character, in sobriety as grand as Holbein, we may not feel shy of lifting our eyes for fear of missing in the heads that vitality which informs every other portion of the picture. We understand that this admirable work is the property of Mrs. Eustace Smith.

M. Rudolf Lehmann has just completed a portrait of Helen Faucit (Mrs. Theodore Martin), which is in course of being

engraved by M. F. Joubert, a pupil of Messrs. Dupont and Ingres. The celebrated actress is represented standing in a balcony; she is wrapt in a white burnous (with shining and dull stripes alternating); her left arm is leaning on the balcony, the right hand holds up the folds which nearly cover the whole figure, so that only a small bit of the blue dress which it conceals is seen. Laurel-trees are in the background, and in front some oleander flowers and leaves hide part of the balcony. The picture has given great satisfaction to private friends, which augurs well for its reception by the public. M. Lehmann has also recently painted the portrait of Mr. Morgan, the well-known American banker, partner of the late Mr. Peabody, and is at present engaged on a considerable work representing the Ratification of a Concession granted by the Shah of Persia to Baron Julius de Reuter.

From time to time the leading continental engravers undertake some *chef d'œuvre* of one or other of the great Italian masters, completing in the course of years, as they may be able to apply themselves to the task, a perfect work of reproduction in their own art. Müller, Forster, Keller, and now Blanchard, have done this; the latter having just completed one of the most lovely pieces of modern line engraving of the picture by Francia of the *Virgin and Two Angels weeping over the dead Christ*. This picture, which was painted about 1495 for the Buonvisi chapel in the church of S. Frediano at Lucca, was the lunette of the altar-piece, and has always been considered one of the typical examples, as it is one of the most pathetic in sentiment, of the art called by some Italian writers *antico-moderno*, that is to say, the art just before the cinquecento, when naturalism and the classics combined to make the graces of style and execution supersede every higher motive recognized in the previous age.

With us, we are sorry to say, engraving of this kind has almost become extinct, and on this account, as well as on its own merits, this print deserves particular mention. The thorough study of a notable picture such as this, by an able artist engraving it, is itself sometimes of great importance. Two years ago or so a line engraving of similar dimensions appeared by Keller of the *Sistina Madonna* at Dresden, on the upper rim of which appears for the first time the rod passing from side to side of the picture on which the curtain hangs. This curtain, it will be remembered, in all previous engravings appeared on either side of the background of angels' heads as if it came simply from the top edge of the painting, whereas it was ascertained, on that great work of Raphael being taken from its frame, that several inches of the painted surface containing the rod on which the curtain hangs in front of the luminous background had been turned over and concealed by the frame. This of course was an accidental result, but the completion of elaborate line engravings such as these must be considered of the highest advantage to public taste, and the best monument to the master. We have examined this print by Blanchard after the *Pietà* of Francia with care, and find it worthy of being placed among the finest works of modern times. This engraver, it will be recollected, did Holman Hunt's *Christ in the Temple*, and in our opinion rendered it a little thin in texture, but here we see nothing of that defect; the tones of all the draperies are particularly full, and the faces of the angels rich in execution, expressing with great charm the redness of weeping and the pathos of the original. Blanchard is now employed on Alma Tadema's *Vintage*.

New Publications.

- ARNOLD, Matthew. Literature and Dogma. Smith, Elder, & Co.
 DASENT, G. W. Jest and Earnest. Chapman & Hall.
 LEONOWENS, A. H. Romance of Siamese Harem Life. Trübner & Co.
 MAYO. Never Again. Sampson Low & Co.
 MILLER, Christine. Burgomaster's Family. Translated by Sir J. S. Lefevre. Longmans.
 OWEN, H. (F.S.A.). Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol. Bell & Daldy.
 THACKERAY, Miss. Old Kensington. Smith, Elder, & Co.
 TROLLOPE, Anthony. Australia and New Zealand. Chapman and Hall.

Physical Science.

English Botany. Edited by J. T. Boswell Syme. 3rd edition. Vols. I.—XI. Hardwicke. 1863-1872.

THE first edition of *English Botany* appeared during the interval between 1790 and 1814, and reached when completed thirty-six volumes. Sir J. E. Smith wrote the descriptions, and the drawings were made under his supervision by James Sowerby. They were published as the plants they were made from came to hand, and consequently in no systematic order, and cryptogamic as well as flowering plants were included. Each plate was coloured by hand, and gave so much of the plant drawn from as could be represented without reduction within the compass of an octavo page. No doubt the folio size adopted by Curtis for his *Flora Londinensis*, which was by no means by the way restricted to the plants of the London district, was in many respects more satisfactory. But that work will probably always remain a fragment, while *English Botany*, if less ambitious in form, has accomplished the complete illustration of all the flowering plants indigenous to the British Isles.

The second edition was merely a reprint. The third, which is the subject of the present notice, is, except for the use made of a large number of Sowerby's old figures, an entirely new work. Contrary to what is often the case with illustrated books, it certainly owes its importance in great measure to the descriptive text. The first of the eleven published volumes appeared ten years ago, and, besides the general editing, the elaboration of the descriptions has continuously engaged Dr. Boswell Syme's attention since that time. The result is worthy of the labour spent upon it, and leaves nothing to be desired, either as regards a careful study of the materials collected by Dr. Boswell Syme himself and communicated to him by correspondents and friends, or as regards a critical appreciation of what is to be found in foreign authorities. The use which Dr. Hooker has constantly made of these volumes in collating with them the descriptions in his *Student's Flora of the British Islands* is a sufficient proof of their value.

Without the tedious process of actual counting, there is no means of ascertaining what is the number of distinct species of indigenous flowering plants which Dr. Boswell Syme has recognized. Dr. Hooker's specific standard seems to be of about the same value, and the *Student's Flora* appears to contain 1,207 species. *English Botany* includes probably therefore about the same number, and these are illustrated by 1,824 plates. This gives an average of three plates to two species, which shows that, besides the typical and most normal form, the most prominent variety in the case of half the species has been figured as well.

It is one merit of the present edition that the series of plates has been adapted to a systematic enumeration of the species. The first edition consisted of a mere haphazard collection of illustrations, copious in some places, most defective in others. Many of these have been discarded, being often inadequate, and sometimes even erroneous, especially from the confusion of closely allied plants not critically discriminated at the time the drawings were made. For this class of plants, indeed, an immense deal had been done subsequently by the attentive study of different botanists, and the beautiful figures illustrating many of them which were made by Salter for the supplement to *English Botany* have been intercalated in the present work where they were needed. New figures have also been given, and if these compare somewhat unfavourably with the work of the older hands they still serve their purpose sufficiently. If indeed an exception be made in the case of some of Salter's best plates, the whole work might, judged by a purely artistic standard,

fall into somewhat unjust discredit. But modern botanical drawings demand a peculiar kind of conventional treatment almost diagrammatic. The careless, spontaneous attitudes of living plants are far from always bringing out discriminative details of structure with the clearness required in a technical illustration. Few botanical artists can draw plants with this end in view and yet avoid, even to a moderate extent, the hardness and primness which is often distressingly unfitting. It is often melancholy to turn, by way of contrast, to the woodcut illustrations of the old herbals, especially of the sixteenth century. Then the artist was content to render, with sometimes almost audacious conventionalization, at least in matters of size and general arrangement, the general *facies* of the plant. The result is almost always felicitous, not seldom marvellously so. There was no demand or temptation to aim at anything more; discrimination was founded on clear differences of general aspect, and the artist evidently devoted study to obtain a distinct, perhaps even a slightly exaggerated, idea of what the individual character of the plant consisted. But with the progress of observation, diagnostic structural details of a more and more recondite sort have gradually taken the place of *facies*, or habit. In bringing out these into prominence the grace which belongs to individualized living forms either evaporates or is even deliberately neglected.

It would be impossible to discuss in this article in any adequate fashion the numerous matters of technical interest which suggest themselves in turning over Dr. Boswell Syme's pages. The only want which is not satisfied is the geographical distribution. There can be no doubt that the facts about our indigenous plants have never been set forth before with such completeness and accuracy. Indeed as regards all details of structure which are not merely histological this chapter of scientific work may be regarded as practically closed. At any rate, Dr. Boswell Syme's volumes are likely to be held authorities for the next century.

It is very desirable that the flora of a country should be regarded as an instrument of national education. Every naturalist worth anything at all has passed through the phase of ardent collecting. Apart from the various kinds of mental and physical enjoyment which grow out of it as a recreation, there is no other training which so well brings to the mind keenness of observation, and the power of seizing and weighing objective distinctions. It would therefore be well worth the attention of an intelligent government to preserve spots of primitive land-surface of which the vegetation was especially interesting. Some of these already owe their preservation to the protection given to game. But under these circumstances botanizing is apt to be confounded with poaching. In the future it may be hoped that a botanist studying the surviving remnants of an ancient vegetation on some one of our mountain tops may do so with all the sanction which a visit deserves to a monument, if one may so call it, of our early physical history.

At the close of the pliocene period northern Europe, including the greater portion of the British Isles, which were then connected with the continent, was covered with a continuous sheet of ice. If any fragments of an arctic vegetation held possession of spots which the ice left uninvaded, even these would be destroyed by the subsequent gradual submergence beneath the sea, which left nothing but the mountain tops exposed. The British Isles were therefore, as regards terrestrial vegetation at this period, a complete *tabula rasa*. As their surface gradually emerged, it would be stocked with animal and vegetable life from the adjoining continent, with which there is reason to suppose it was again continuous. The climate, which had been milder during the period of submersion, now again became cold; the moun-

tains were once more clothed with glaciers, though not so extensive or so confluent as before. The vegetation must have been therefore at first of the character we now know as arctic, and this would give place, as the climate ameliorated, to new northward-spreading waves of vegetation. Mountain summits in Britain, as elsewhere, preserve some fragments of this old flora, which on the continent has shrunk away towards arctic and alpine Scandinavia, and is perhaps still retreating. The Scotch fir (*Pinus sylvestris*) found in the bogs of Ireland, and at the bottom of those of Denmark, has retreated also; in Denmark it is no longer indigenous, and as a native tree survives doubtfully with ourselves. Gradually the plants of east Europe spread towards Scandinavia and the British area, to be followed in turn by a wave from the south, to which period the beech belongs. At the same time Ireland and south-western England received contributions from the western flora of Europe. The native plants of Ireland number only two-thirds of those found in Great Britain. This is at once explicable if the latter area was nearer to the common source of origin. Nor is this all: of 120 plants which are characteristically eastern as regards the British Isles only 18 reach Ireland, and but five extend to its western side. The distribution of reptiles furnishes facts with a precisely similar bearing.*

The British flora is therefore simply an extension of the continental flora, with which it is no longer continuous in area. A question of great biological interest at once arises: What amount of change or differentiation can be detected in the severed portions of what was once a common flora? An elaborate descriptive work like the present ought to supply, as to some extent it no doubt does, the material for making the comparison. It must, however, be remembered that British botanists have tried hitherto rather to identify their "critical" plants with those of the continent than to discriminate them.

In the first place, there is no species in the British Isles which is peculiar to them. There are consequently no such marked differences, whether accounted for by the dying out of some species on the mainland or by the differentiation of others after their migration, as exist between the vegetation of the Madeiran Archipelago and the neighbouring continents. But there is reason for believing the Madeiran vegetation, which was not however derived through land extension but by other agencies, to be as old as the miocene, and compared to this the antiquity of isolation in the case of the British Isles becomes inconsiderable.

When a flora migrates it will fail necessarily to preserve its homogeneity. To begin with, the rate of migration of individual constituents will vary very greatly: some will fall out of the march altogether, and those that transfer themselves to new localities, or are transferred, will be differently affected by the change. Some it will agree with better than it does with others, and these last will go down sooner or later in the competition. The rest may either find themselves holding much the same place in their new quarters that they did before, or they may prove to be better fitted altogether for their new conditions of life than for their old ones. The optimist view of nature is dying

out; hardly anyone believes that every living thing is in the place best suited for it.

It is quite certain that some plants transferred to a new area will evidence symptoms of constitutional in response to environmental changes. And this once set up is apt to continue till amongst the continuously-varying offspring some form makes its appearance which happens to find itself better adjusted than others to its surrounding conditions, and these in the long run it will as a consequence supplant. It results from this that even on a continent a species extended over a large area and embracing on that account diverse physical conditions, will give rise to races more and more differentiated from one another centrifugally, and at the same time blending together towards the centre. Insular position prevents this blending, and brings the differentiation consequently into sharper contrast. The amount of the contrast will clearly depend on the time that has elapsed since the separation. The British flora is as a whole only of postpliocene age, though individual specific forms are of course of far greater antiquity. But the amount of diversity from the continental flora has not yet become in any one case specific. Mr. Bentham however remarks* that the British student of brambles or roses, "transported to the south of France or to Hungary, will still find one, or perhaps two or three, forms of bramble and dog-rose with which he is familiar; but if he wishes to discriminate the thirty or forty varieties of sub-species upon which he had spent so much labour and acuteness at home, he will find that he must recommence with a series of forms and combinations of characters quite new to him. The species is still the same; the varieties are changed." To establish clearly facts of this kind shows that even what has been thought, in the case of brambles, to be a thoroughly useless study, is not after all without its biological value.

W. T. THISELTON DYER.

Notes on Scientific Work.

Geography.

The Unknown Regions of the Globe.—The unexplored regions of the world have at all times had a mysterious and enticing interest, and the desire to know what lies concealed within their borders seems at no time to have been stronger than at present. Year by year their limits are narrowing. Four vast areas which have never been traversed by civilized man stand out pre-eminently among these, and taken together constitute about a seventeenth part of the surface of the globe. Of these the greatest is in the Antarctic Region, the extent of which is about seventy-five times that of Great Britain. The second lies about the North Pole, the third is in Central Africa, and the fourth is in Western Australia. That which lies round the South Pole is almost continuous with the Antarctic circle, and can be traced out by the furthest points reached by the voyagers Cook, Bellinghausen, Weddell, Biscoe, Kemp, Balleny, d'Urville, Wilkes, Ross, and Moore from 1772 to 1845. That part of its boundary of barrier ice which lies nearest the South Pole, in lat. 78° 10' south of New Zealand, was attained by Ross in February, 1842. The unknown region of the Arctic pole is also more or less circular in form, except where it stretches southward to the vast inland-ice fields of Greenland. In the long list of "furthest points" which constitute its margin, the inroads made on the previously unknown by Gillis, Wrangell, Parry, Collinson, MacIntock, Kane, Rogers, Hayes, Payer, and Mack from 1707 till 1871 remain perhaps the most notable. No one has as yet approached nearer the North Pole than Parry, who reached the latitude of 81° 45' over ice, to northward of Spitzbergen, in July of 1827. The unexplored African area of tropical forests and great population, the most interesting of all, because it is the most promising in useful results, stretches from the furthest points explored by the Portuguese travellers of 1806, of the Hungarian Ladislaus Magyar in 1850, and of Livingstone in later years, on the south, to the points nearest the equator reached by Barth in 1855 on the north. Eastward its outline is given by points on the routes of Speke in 1862, Baker in 1864, Schweinfurth in 1870, and Livingstone in 1870-1872. On the west the limits of unknown Africa approach very closely to the coast, and, near the equator, have only been driven inland at the ex-

* Four species in the west of Ireland have been held to point to a former connexion with North America. Of these *Sisyrinchium bermudianum* has probably been introduced; *Naias flexilis* is also found in Europe and Asia. Two do not occur elsewhere in the Old World; but *Eriocaulon septangulare* is an aquatic plant, and therefore one of a kind notorious for wide distribution by the aid of migratory birds; *Spiranthes romanzooiana* cannot however be explained away; perhaps, as well as *Eriocaulon*, it may be a straggling survivor of the miocene European Flora which had a strong resemblance to that now existing in North America.

* Address to Linn. Soc., 1870. p. 8.

termitis of Du Chaillu's journeys of 1865 and 1866, and by the high point on the Ogowai River attained by Walker in 1866. The settled parts of the coastland of Angola give the boundary on the south-west. If it be successful, the "Livingstone-Congo" expedition, under Lieutenant Grandy, will penetrate to the very heart of the unknown space. In Australia the great unknown desert region lies west of the track explored from south to north by Stuart in 1861-62 which now marks the line of telegraphic communication across the continent. On the south it extends almost to the steep shores of the great Australian Bight; on the north, the greatest inroad on its domain was made by A. C. Gregory in 1856; westward its outline is formed by the turning-points of the journeys made by Roe, A. C. Gregory, Austin, F. Gregory, and Forrest from 1846 to the present time. The areas of these unknown regions are approximately as follow:—

	Square miles.
South Polar Area	6,800,000
North Polar	2,900,000
Central African	1,050,000
Australian	850,000

Chemistry.

The Oxides of Phosphorus.—A. Gauthier has communicated to the *Société Chimique (Revue Scientifique*, 25th January, 1872, 715) the results of his researches on these substances. When phosphorous acid acts on chloride of phosphorus at 70° a yellow body is formed, which, after it has been washed with water, is found to have the formula P_4H_2O . At 100° it is likewise formed mixed with amorphous phosphorus; at 165° to 175° the only products are amorphous phosphorus, and pyrophosphoric acid. The substance P_4H_2O is a definite compound, and does not undergo decomposition when heated to 250°; at 275° it gives off phosphuretted hydrogen, and only at 360° does the disengagement of phosphorus commence. It is readily decomposed by soda. Gauthier has since found that biniodide of phosphorus when treated with a large quantity of water produces phosphorous and hypophosphorous acids, and a new body, having the formula P_4H_2O , which readily changes into phosphorous and phosphoric acids.

Hyoscyamine.—The researches of Merk point to the conclusion arrived at by other observers, that hyoscyamine is not, as has usually been stated, a crystalline body. The author (*Chem. Central-blatt*, 1873, No. 1, 3) obtained it in the form of a soft mass, which, when distilled in an atmosphere of hydrogen, forms a colourless liquid, having an odour resembling that of conine. It is readily soluble in alcohol and ether, and is taken up to a considerable amount by water. On exposure to the air it soon turns yellow and then brown, becomes viscous, and is no longer soluble in ether. It has a strong alkaline reaction, completely neutralizes acids, and forms a series of salts which are easily soluble in water and difficult to obtain in crystals. The nitrate and oxalate crystallize best.

The Flame-test for Potassium.—When testing for potassium in the presence of a large excess of a sodium compound by examining the flame of the mixture with cobalt glass, or a solution of sulphindigotic acid, the method, as is well known, fails unless the former metal be no considerable constituent. If a solution of permanganate of potassium be used in place of either of these media, the sensitiveness of the test is greatly enhanced; for instance, in the flame given by a chloride of sodium which contained 0.4 per cent. of potash converted into chloride, the presence of potassium was clearly recognized. It is possible in this way to determine potassium in a mineral, though we should fail to recognize it by means of a pocket spectroscope. According to H. B. Cornwall (*American Chemist*, 2,384) it appears that a mixture in proper portion of alcoholic solutions of aniline blue and aniline violet when used in the prism will shut off the light emitted by both sodium and lithium compounds, and facilitate the detection of potassium in the presence of both metals.

New Synthesis of Anthracene.—It has been observed by W. A. Van Dorp (*Ber. Deut. Chem. Gesell.*, v. 20, 1071) that benzyltoluol, prepared by Zincke's method, and having a boiling point of 275°–280°, is decomposed when passed through a tube filled with pumice at a low red heat into a solid hydrocarbon, an oily body, and hydrogen, which escapes. The liquid substance is separated from the solid by pressure, and the latter crystallized from glacial acetic acid. The slightly yellow crystalline plates melt at 213° and have the composition $C_{14}H_{10}$. The identity of this substance with anthracene was established by confirmatory tests by treatment with picric acid, by the conversion into anthrochinone, and by the formation of alizarine by heating the anthrochinone-sulphuric acid with potash. This process of forming anthracene is to be recommended because it readily furnishes the product in a pure state. Benzyltoluol yields about 10 per cent. of anthracene. The oil, which was mentioned among the products, yields further anthracene if passed through the tube a second time. The reaction is as follows: $C_{14}H_{10} = C_{14}H_{10} + H_2$.

Epidote.—Several papers have appeared of late respecting the formula of this mineral. Rammelsberg, after an examination of numerous

analyses, maintains that it contains no water, and has a composition represented by the formula, $Si_2Al_2Ca_2O_8$; and he produces in support of this conclusion the oxygen ratios of an analysis of the beautiful crystals of epidote of Sulzbach. Tschermak, and still more recently Kenngott, on the other hand, have assigned to it the formula $Si_2Al_2Ca_2H_2O_8$. A very careful chemical examination has recently been made by E. Ludwig (*Mineralogische Mittheilungen*, 1872, beft 3, 187), of some large and pure crystals from the Sulzbach locality, and he finds his results agree with those of the last-mentioned observers. He regards the varieties of epidote as mixtures of the two isomorphous constituents, $Si^2Al_2Ca_2H_2O_8$ and $Si^2Fe_2Ca_2H_2O_8$.

Valeritrine.—N. Ljubawin has read a further paper on the action of alcoholic ammonia on Valerianaldehyde before the Chemical Society of St. Petersburg. (*Ber. Deut. Chem. Gesell.* v. 20, 1, 101.) In addition to valeritrine there is formed a base the hydrochlorate of which crystallizes in needles, and has the formula $C_{15}H_{25}N.HCl$, or $C_{15}H_{21}N.HCl$, a clear indication that amylic alcohol took part in the formation of the new alkaloid. By the reaction a part of the aldehyde must split up into amylic alcohol and valerianic acid; this view gains support from the fact of this acid having been found among the bye-products of the action.

Mineralogical Notices.—In the *Fahrbuch für Mineralogie*, 1872, No. viii, the venerable Breithaupt has published a few notes bearing the above title. Nautokite occurs in small brilliant colourless crystals belonging to the tesseral system. It has the composition Cu_2Cl_2 . It was found in Chili, and is associated with atacamite and cuprite. Nantokite is probably isomorphous with common salt and horn silver. Winklerite is an amorphous compact mineral, having a bluish black colour and dark brown streak. It occurs at Oria, near Montri, in the Sierra Alhamilla. It has a very complex constitution, being probably composed of carbonates of cobalt and copper, with hydrated sesquioxide of cobalt and arseniate of lime.—In part ix. of the *Fahrbuch* is published a paper on ardenite, by A. v. Lasaulx. This new mineral, which occurs near Ottrez, in Belgium, consists of fibrous aggregates of small crystals that have no terminal faces, and much resemble cyanite. The colour is brown or bright yellow, and the cleavage very marked along two directions. The crystals are dichroic. The mineral contains silicic acid, vanadic acid (about six per cent.), alumina and sesquioxide of manganese (29.4 per cent.), as well as a few per cent. of accidental ingredients.

Absorption of Chlorine by Charcoal.—M. Melsens has (*Compt. rendus*, 13th January, 93) determined the quantities of this gas taken up by varieties of charcoal, and states that one kind is able in the cold to absorb nearly its own weight of chlorine. Charcoal thus charged, when placed in contact with dry hydrogen in the dark, forms hydrochloric acid, the combination being attended by a fall of temperature. In contact with water hydrochloric acid and carbonic acid are formed. The oxygen acids of chlorine, as well as organic acids, though sought for among the products of this action, were not detected.

The Colour of Raw Silk.—The yellow colour of silk has been found by Pfeiffer (*Arch. Pharm.* [3] 1 424) to be a more or less altered chlorophyll which has been deprived of its blue colour. From the green cocoons or the greenish raw silk he extracted unchanged chlorophyll, which by treatment with ether containing hydrochloric acid could be split up into blue and yellow constituents.

In the last part of the *Gazetta Chimica* Roster, of Florence, announces the discovery of a new organic acid in urinary calculi. Full particulars have been sent to the forthcoming part of *Liebig's Annalen*.

Zoology.

On the Salivary Organs of the Honey-bee. By C. Th. v. Siebold.

—At the annual agricultural meeting, held in October, 1871, at Munich, a well-known Apiarian, Hr. Mehring, exhibited a peculiar kind of honey that he named *Kunst-Honig* (artificial honey), and which he had produced by feeding his bees exclusively with malt. This honey excited great interest, and the question was raised whether this substance was real honey, and whether, consequently, the bee was able to change malt-sugar in its stomach into honey. The physiologico-chemical part of the inquiry was taken up in Liebig's laboratory by Dr. von Schneider, who, unfortunately, was prevented from carrying the investigation to the end; he arrived, however, at the conclusion that the carbo-hydrates sucrose and dextrose contained in the malt are actually changed by the bee into honey-sugar, and that Mehning's honey only differs from other honeys in the absence of the specific aroma which is imparted to them by the flowers on which the bees have been gathering. Practically, Mehning's discovery is of importance, inasmuch as the malt-food prepared by him contains not only the ingredients necessary for the life of the bee, but also those requisite for the formation of honey, and therefore it can be used with advantage in districts where flowering plants are scarce. With regard to the wax, Dr. von Schneider is of opinion that it is undoubtedly a secretion of the honey-bee, which is formed chiefly at the expense of different kinds of sugar; but he considers that the production of wax

from sugar cannot be maintained without simultaneous access to food containing nitrogen.

After the fact had been established that honey and wax are not substances found as such by the bee, but are productions which have undergone chemical change through contact with the secretions of the insect, Prof. von Siebold directed his attention to the investigation of the secreting organs, a branch of anatomy which indeed had not been entirely neglected, but which is now treated for the first time with regard to the special functions those organs appear to perform in the preparation of the products of the bee. Prof. von Siebold distinguishes three entirely distinct and very complicated systems of salivary glands, two of which (a lower and upper) are situated in the head, and the third in the anterior part of the thorax, the latter having been erroneously regarded by Fischer as a lung. Each of them has separate excretory ducts, and is distinguished by a specifically different form and organization of the vesicles secreting the saliva. Each consists of a right and left glandular mass, with right and left excretory ducts. For the detailed account of their minute structure we must refer to the paper itself, and the plate accompanying it. It may however be mentioned that this extraordinary development of the salivary organs has been observed by Prof. von Siebold in the workers only. The queen possesses only a rudiment of the lower cephalic system in the form of the two orifices of the ducts, while the ducts themselves as well as the glands are absent; and the two other systems are much less developed than in the workers. In the drones not even the orifices of the lower cephalic system could be found. (*Bienenzeitung*, 1872, No. 23.)

Observations in Myology. By G. M. Humphry, M.D., F.R.S. Cambridge, 1872, 8vo., pp. 192.—This is a re-issue of Prof. Humphry's valuable papers originally published in the sixth volume of the *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, excepting only a chapter on the myology of *Uromastix*. The collection contains a description of the muscles and nerves of *Cryptobranchus* and *Lepidosiren*, of the muscles of the dog-fish, *Ceratodus* and *Pseudopus*, and a chapter on the disposition of muscles in vertebrate animals generally.

Buller's History of the Birds of New Zealand.—The rapid progress of this work, of which parts 3 and 4 have been published together, will give great satisfaction to the subscribers. We are very glad to learn that in consequence of a request made by our leading ornithologists, Mr. Buller will issue a series of supplementary plates so as to include a coloured representation of every species of New Zealand bird.

Annali del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Genova. 236 pp.—The Marquis Doria published the third volume of this journal in December, 1872. It contains the following papers:—A. Paladilhe, on the new Asiatic genus *Francia*, and on some new species of mollusks from Aden. W. Peters, amphibians from Sarawak. R. Gestro, note on some coleoptera. L. Fairmaire, on new Italian species of the genus *Adolops*. E. H. Giglioli, craniological notes on the chimpanzee. A. Morelet, notice of land and freshwater shells from Abyssinia. P. M. Ferrari, the species of *Aphidide* hitherto found in Liguria. This volume is illustrated by 9 plates.

New Publications.

- JAGOR, F. Reisen in der Philippinen. Berlin: Wiedmann.
BRETSCHNEIDER, P. Ueber den Regenfall zu Ida-Marienhütte in den Jahren 1865—1872. Breslau: Korn.
BOURBICCI, L. Corso di Mineralogia. Bologna: Zanichelli.
CAMPI, E. Dei principali elettromotori. Cagliari: Timon.
DONATI, G. B. Dell'urto di una cometa con la terra e particolarmente della cometa di Biela. Firenze: Le Monnier.
NARDO, A. A proposito d'un congresso scientifico. Treviso: Priuli.
DIEFFENBACH, F. Plutonismus und Vulkanismus in der Periode von 1868—1872. Darmstadt: Johnhaus.
DÖTSCH, G. Ueber die hyperbolischen Functionen und deren Beziehungen zu den Kreisfunctionen. Nürnberg: v. Ebner.
HARLACHER, A. R. Beiträge zur Hydrographie des Königreichs Böhmen. Prag: Calve.
HEUZE, G. Les Plantes alimentaires. Avec atlas. Paris: Raçon.
LEVY, P. Notas geograficas y economicas sobre la republica de Nicaragua. Paris: Rouge.
ASTRONOMICAL ENGRAVINGS from the Observatory of Harvard College, Mass. Plates i. to x. New York: Westermann.
LANG, V. v. Einleitung in die Theoretische Physik: 3te Lieferung. Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn.
KÖSTLIN, O. Ueber die Grenzen der Naturwissenschaft. Tübingen: Fues.
DAY, St. J. V. On some Evidences as to the very early use of Iron. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.
COHN, F. Ueber Bacterien. Berlin: Habel.
MÜNSTER, J. Ueber Corallenthier. Berlin: Habel.
QUÉLET, L. Les Champignons du Jura et des Vosges. Paris: Bailière.
BRAUN, A. Ueber die Bedeutung der Entwicklung in der Naturgeschichte. Berlin: Hirschwald.

Philology.

Virgilio nel Medio Evo. By Dominico Comparetti, Professor in the Royal University of Pisa, Leghorn. Francesco Vigo. 1872. 2 vols.

WHEN the Florentine periodical *Antologia*, made so famous by Vieusseux, after succumbing to the unfortunate political circumstances of those days, was revived in 1866 by the enterprise of some Italian patriots of high rank, under the title *Nuova Antologia*, the first number, besides contributions bearing the honoured names of the former minister Count Terenzio Mamiani, the Princess Cristina Belgiojoso, the political economist Ferrara, and others, contained at its head an essay, *Virgilio nelle tradizioni letterarie fino a Dante*, which was subsequently (vol. iv. and v.) continued under the title *Virgilio Mago*. The place assigned to the first part of this work, in an undertaking of so much importance, destined to command increasing consideration and sympathy in Italy and elsewhere, shows sufficiently the place held by the author, Prof. Comparetti, in the opinion of the public—an opinion based on his very valuable and scholarly works (cf. *Acad.* 1870, No. ix.) and his conspicuous activity in the University of Pisa. This study on Virgil contained, indeed, a very interesting and instructive representation of the after life of that poet during the middle ages, of which the first part, that relating to the literary tradition, treated of a theme either entirely new, or new at least by the exhaustive way of stating all the relationships of the subject. Comparetti's treatise, however, was only a sketch; and prolonged and comprehensive studies have at last put him in a position to represent Virgil in the light of poet, scholar, prophet, and magician, as he appeared throughout the whole of the middle ages, and to explain the development and the phases through which his celebrity has passed at different periods, as well as its nature and sources and the links connecting it with the history of European thought. By beginning his researches with the lifetime of the poet, Comparetti is enabled to penetrate deep into the characteristics of his genius, and so to discern the internal connection of these phases more clearly than would otherwise have been possible. We see, for instance, how from the first the Virgilian poetry was more felt than reasoned about, its merits came home to the heart and the imagination more than to the intellect. As the most faithful organ of national sentiment, as an artistic product standing in the most perfect harmony with the taste, the tendencies, the culture, and the requirements of the national mind, it possessed a rare and well-founded *prestige* before which the name even of the great Roman orator grew pale. Those who had attempted to ascend from this impression to its causes and to an analysis of the Virgilian poem had hitherto stopped short with its external or formal side, and considered it almost exclusively as a subject for the learned critical researches of grammarians and rhetoricians; partly because of the general tendency of all studies in this direction, and partly because the true nature of the epopee had not yet been recognized. The poetic and national value of Virgil, the mighty enthusiasm which, though universally felt, could not be defined by criticism of so narrow a scope, served to exaggerate the apparent proportions of the part which had been defined. One does not, indeed, yet perceive the idea of the poet's universal knowledge, but that of his literary universality exists already and made his authority supreme in poetry and prose, in grammar and rhetoric, that is, in the most important and characteristic elements of the culture of the time. Those who speak of him are apt to exaggerate the number and variety of his merits, and Martial was not, doubtless, expressing a merely individual

opinion when he said that if Virgil had chosen to try his skill in lyrics or the drama, he would easily have surpassed the greatest of the lyric poets or tragedians. Thus from the first the poet's fame reveals the tokens and causes of that exaggeration which we are to trace in its later phases and fuller development. For though Roman literature continued to decay notably from the time of Marcus Aurelius, Virgil still maintained his place amongst the honoured names of the classical period, though the character of his celebrity was naturally modified by the changes of the intellectual atmosphere in which it survived. The time for truly poetic creations was past for Roman literature, but rhetoric, which lives by imitation, in taking the place of poetry continued to regard Virgil as the supreme model. Only as such imitations were poetic in form rather than substance, Virgil's influence was purely formal and superficial; notwithstanding which many poets of the period enjoyed high favour and satisfied the popular taste. But how could any one capable of enthusiasm for the poetical declamation of Statius form a just estimate of the poetry of Virgil, and free his admiration for the latter from contamination by the false feeling and perverted taste which extolled his stilted and bombastic imitations? However this may be, the fame of Virgil and his misconceived traditional greatness imposed upon men's minds, and led to an almost superstitious veneration. As early as under the Antonines we meet with the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, which after being consulted by Hadrian, continued all through the middle ages to be used like Homer and the Bible for the same purpose. Alexander Severus placed the bust of Virgil with those of other heroes and writers in a special Lararium, but not before the enthusiasm of many poets had already well nigh deified him. Silius Italicus celebrated Virgil's birthday every year by a pilgrimage to his grave, which he regarded as a temple; Statius did the like; Martial speaks of the Ides of October as a festival consecrate to Virgil, as the Ides of August to Hecate, or of May to Mercury. Thus we find Virgil considered as the patron saint of poets, and amongst the numerous apotheoses of the Roman empire this one at least was dictated by a genuine feeling, though, no doubt, springing from confused sources and carried to extravagant results. The condition of Roman literature during the third and fourth centuries is well known, and if now and then, amidst the crimes and orgies of the imperial court a faint echo of the Virgilian muse might still be heard, this proved, not the existence of a true poetic sentiment, but only that the poet's popularity defied the most unfavourable ages. He was then chiefly and almost exclusively employed as a school-book for the instruction of youth, or as material for the childish exercises of adults. In the schools he was studied so diligently that it was a common thing to know him by heart from one end to the other, whence the fashion for Virgilian centos. The explanations with which the study of the poet was accompanied must naturally have had great influence upon the way in which he was regarded, so that an exhaustive critical history of the numerous commentaries on Virgil would be of great value and importance; for all through the middle ages fresh ones were constantly appearing, and as constantly varying with the vicissitudes to which they were incessantly exposed. All who left the schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians had learnt to regard Virgil as the prototype of both, the author *par excellence*, who contained within himself the ideal of knowledge and culture peculiar to each age. What fruit this seed brought forth amongst mature men and professional students we see in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, where Virgil is celebrated as a marvellous encyclopædic author. The way had long been prepared for Macrobius's work, both in what concerned the materials which he used

and the spirit in which he wrote. The intellectual decline, so visible in the author despite his efforts to rise above the level of his time, had begun long before, as we have seen. Composed in the last days of the old heathen world by a writer who himself still belonged to that world, the *Saturnalia* threw the clearest light upon the character of the idea entertained of the poet in the last moments of Paganism, when his name was about to be transported into the new atmosphere of mediævalism. Two other authors belonging to this period of decadence, the great grammatical luminaries Donatus and Priscian, also helped to maintain the heathen tradition, and contributed to keep the fame of Virgil alive during the centuries of barbarism. But even outside the learned and scholastic world the poet had not lost his early popularity; theatrical pieces derived from his works continued to be represented, and one of the favourite subjects was the misfortunes of Dido, which moved the spectators to tears, and were so much in vogue as to be reproduced on carpets, in painting, and in works of art of every existing kind. Public recitations were not wanting, and in the sixth century the thronging people still came to hear the *Æneid* read in the *Forum Trajanum*. As centre and summit of the literary inheritance bequeathed by the Romans, as the expression of the universal Roman feeling which survived the Empire, the name of Virgil received such a lofty and comprehensive significance as to become in Latin Europe almost synonymous with civilization. With this mission the dying heathen society passed him on to later ages; and some centuries before Dante designated Virgil *virtù somma*, Justinian had thought it necessary to place his name side by side with that of the divine Greek poet who was his *pater omnis virtutis*, upon the most durable monument of the practical wisdom of the Romans. Meanwhile grammar was still regarded as the first of the liberal arts, belonging, indeed, always to the *trivium*, and we even find a Gothic king, Atalarich, in a letter addressed to the Roman Senate, solemnly rehearsing its praises, and recommending a proper care for the maintenance of its teachers. But where grammar reigned, there also reigned Virgil as its highest authority and inseparable companion. In the middle ages Virgil and grammar were almost convertible terms. Thus when Gregory of Tours says that, in his youth, Andarchius "de operibus Virgili, legis Theodosianæ libris arteque calculi adprime eruditus est," one can only understand *de operibus Virgili* as referring to the study of grammar; and even when modern literature began to exist, and the thought of Europe began to stir along a new course, grammar, and Virgil with it, continued to occupy in popular recognition the same leading place which the above-mentioned king of the Ostrogoths had assigned to it in the sixth century. Classical antiquity survived the middle ages only by its hold upon the schoolroom. Together with Virgil, or rather as satellites of that great planet, reigned Ovid and Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, and Statius, and yet a few others, exactly in proportion to the degree of favour which they enjoyed amongst the teachers of youth. The names of these ancient authors with those of the elder grammarians were the first lesson impressed on the memory of children. When the child had become a man, and perhaps himself an author, it was impossible to efface these early reminiscences, which were kept alive by the very language in which he wrote. This is the explanation of the enormous mass of quotations from Virgil and other Pagan authors met with in Christian writers after the final extinction of Paganism and during the whole of the middle ages. Nevertheless, it was impossible for Christian feeling not to experience a certain repulsion for these representatives of Paganism, in consequence of which the same course of conduct was always pursued respecting them. The fathers

of the Church, indeed, who had written much against the heathen authors, had not ceased to make use of them for their own purposes, and this example was accurately followed all through the middle ages. These authors were carefully studied, quoted when necessary in original compositions, and even in theological controversies or biblical exegesis, yet denounced as "idolatrous dogs" whenever occasion presented itself. But if some pious scribes allowed themselves to indulge in these outbreaks, others again carried their admiration for Virgil to the point of fanaticism—e.g., Radbert, who gave his vote in chapter in Virgilian verses; the monk Probus, who had such an enthusiasm for Virgil and Cicero that his *confratres* ridiculed him, and pretended he wished to rank them amongst the saints; Bishop Rigbod of Trèves was said to know the *Æneid* better than the gospel, &c.

The extraordinary number of MSS. of Virgil which we possess is a further proof of the wide dissemination of his works in the middle ages, and of their use in schools; for one sees that many of them were evidently only transcribed for that special purpose, by the carelessness which makes them useless for criticism of the text. Meanwhile it was not only in language and style that the heathen authors were regarded by their Christian successors as masters and authorities; any passage that could be made to support a doctrine of the faith was used for that purpose without scruple, even though the natural sense might sometimes be forced, or even perverted, in the process. This was particularly the case with Virgil; for the high consideration in which he stood, as the greatest of the Latin poets, as well as on account of his morality and the extraordinary wisdom ascribed to him, led the Christian theologians to refer to him for such purposes more frequently and more confidently than to the other heathen poets, while, at the same time, they showed that he, of all the heathens, was the one who had approached most nearly to the truths of Christianity.

But, as is well known, the fourth eclogue was the chief source of his mediæval fame, as it was that which caused him to be reckoned amongst the prophets who, like David, Isaiah, &c., had foretold the coming of Christ. He appeared, accordingly, with them in the religious plays of the middle ages down to the revival of letters, and as by this means even the lowest classes were familiarized with his name, the idea of him in this new legendary shape gradually blended with the other popular conceptions of Virgil as a magician, of which we shall have to speak further on. For the rest, the ecclesiastical writers were not the first to find in Virgil's works whatever they chose to look for in them. The heathen commentators, too, were led by the prevailing taste for allegorical interpretations to apply the same method to his poems, and all the more because they failed to conceive how such a mighty sage as Virgil was supposed to be should have omitted to conceal something much deeper and more profound under the apparently simple narrative of the *Æneid*. He was not indeed used by the apologists of Paganism against the Christians, but his works were allegorized by philosophers as well as by grammarians, by Pagans as well as Christians, and the hidden mysteries discovered by both were held to refer only to points of ethics and philosophy, especially to the vicissitudes of human life in its struggles after perfection.

The loss of so many monuments of antiquity is the reason that few specimens of this mode of interpretation as we find it in Donatus, Servius, and Macrobius, have survived till our time. The most important of these is the work of Fulgentius, a Christian writer of uncertain date, who cannot, however, have lived later than the sixth century. His work, *De Continentia Virgiliana* (i.e., what is contained, or

rather hidden, in Virgil), is one of the most strange and curious productions of the Latin middle ages, and at the same time the most characteristic monument of the fame of the poet in the midst of Christian barbarism. In the preface the author declares that he shall limit his labours to the *Æneid* alone, because the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* contain a mystic sense so profound that scarcely any human skill would be able to penetrate them entirely. But neither in this work nor in its continuation, the *Mythologicon* of the same author, is there a single word bearing upon the struggle between the two faiths. The fundamental principle of the latter, as of the *Continentia*, is purely philosophical, and aims at reconciling the ancient myths, not with Christianity, but with philosophy. It was thus brought about in the most natural way, and without interruption of the classical tradition, that the Virgil of Fulgentius, that is to say the Virgil of Christian barbarism, appealed to sympathies which were well calculated to smooth away the incompatibility between the great heathen poet and the followers of Christianity. And this type—in which we trace the mediæval conception of human reason approaching as nearly as its fallible nature, without the succour of miracles or revelation, would allow, to principles akin to those of Christianity,—this type is only a rough foreshadowing of that which we find purified and sublimated in the poetry of Dante.

The result at which we have arrived thus far is that there were many different sides to Virgil's mediæval celebrity: a philosophic-religious side, an historical side—for the splendour of the Augustan reign, the beginning of the empire, and the near approaching birth of Christ offered, taken together, the most favourable conditions under which a great literary name could be historically presented—and, lastly, a grammatical-rhetorical side. The latter is certainly the lowest and most trivial, the coarsest and most barbarous; for what is one to think of a commentator on Virgil who explains *efficiens* by *effigiem*, *imaginem*? or who reads for "*Quo te, Moeri, pedes?*" "*Quot, Emori, pedes,*" and sees in it an allusion to the four legs of a breed of very swift Saracen steeds called *Emoris*? Or what is to be said of another commentator who begins his explanation of the *Bucolics*: "In those days, when Julius Cæsar was at the head of the empire, Brutus Cassius ruled over the twelve communities of the Tusci; and there began a war between Cæsar and Brutus Cassius, who had with him Virgil, and Brutus was defeated by Cæsar; but not long afterwards Julius was beaten to death with stools"? Nevertheless, as has been already observed, the grammatical side of Virgil's celebrity in the middle ages was really the most important, and the one upon which the others essentially depended: as for the purely æsthetic side, it was simply not recognized at all; though if its existence had been recognized, however imperfectly, all the other substitutes for it might have been dispensed with, or would have been very differently conceived.

At the end of the first volume or part of his work, Com-paretti begins to discuss the Virgil of Dante, and points out at starting that Dante's strong Italian feeling was the principal motive for the sympathy and preference which he displays for Virgil; he treats him as peculiarly a national poet, and calls him "*la nostra maggior musa*," and "*il nostro maggior poeta*." His Italian soul was enraptured with the *Æneid*, in which he seemed to be reading the ancient history of Italy; for Italy, as he thought,

* This is crazy enough; yet I cannot help referring to the reading *διὰ στήθην* for *διὰ στήθη* (Il. 1, 6), which has not failed to find an interpretation and advocates.

"Mori la vergine Camilla
Eurialo e Turno e Niso di ferute."

His admiration for Virgil was independent of the tradition which asserted his greatness; he felt Virgil's power himself, he recognized the dependence upon him of so many other poets, which made Virgil the *onore*, the *lume* of all; he knew that to him all "*fanno onore*," and that "*di ciò fanno bene*." As a true poet he was sensible of all the perfections of Virgil's poetry; as an Italian he was proud of such a miracle of art, for both Latin and Italian were the national language of Italy, and Virgil is the *gloria dei Latini*. Still Dante's Virgil is not the real Augustan poet, but that ideal Virgil we have already described; though it was not altogether in virtue of the mediæval halo that he had selected Virgil as his guide through the nether regions. Virgil was the favourite writer, whose works supplied food for more than one of his most intimately cherished visions, but at the same time Virgil, like Beatrice, was liable to be drawn into the currents of that majestic mind, and following its course, was idealized as the disciple's nature demanded. For Dante Virgil was not merely the representative of Italian nationality and patriotism, of Italian glory and empire, but he found in the *Æneid*, interpreted after the allegorical fashion of the day, the same journey along the path of contemplation which he had taken for the subject of his own poem, according to his conception of the relations between reason and faith, and of the power of the human intellect to attain certain primary truths without the aid of revelation. Virgil shone forth from amongst the hosts of illustrious ancients, and especially from amongst the poets, as, according to mediæval ideas, the purest and most enlightened of all, while in point of time he was also the nearest to Christ, and had even prophesied of him unknowingly. Finally, from Virgil he borrowed the first idea and many details of his journey through the lower world, and throughout his great work he makes use of him more frequently than of any other author.

It is evident that with Dante's high ideas of Virgil, he must have been revolted by the legends of his magical power which abounded amongst the lower classes of Naples, and were only too readily accepted by contemporary writers. Besides this, the way in which sorcerers and astrologers are treated in his poem shows that he did not, like the populace, look upon these arts as constituting the deepest wisdom, but that, on the contrary, the wisdom of Virgil, as he conceived it, was quite incompatible with their exercise. We see thus that the Virgil of Dante, even when the latter adopts some of the ideas of his time, still belongs to him alone; and may serve, as an original conception, for contrast with another personification of the mediæval Virgil, belonging to the same century, the Virgil of *Dolopathos*. This is a romantic work, from the cycle of the *Seven Wise Masters*, proceeding from the commonplace, uncultivated mind of a monk, in which the literary idea of Virgil appears at its lowest point of approach to the vulgar popular conception; just as the Virgil of Dante belongs to the highest intellectual sphere, in which we see the decaying literary mediæval traditionalism at the point of passing into the living classical feeling of the renaissance. In *Dolopathos* Virgil is represented as he must necessarily appear to the common scholastic conception when viewed in the light of fantastic romance, though we need not ascribe to that work a popular origin independent of the schools. He appears as the great master of all secular wisdom; his only fault is that he is a heathen, but he is as little of one as it was possible to be before Christ; nothing is wanting to him but a knowledge of the unity of God; he is of pure morals, and a great philosopher, no one is more famous than he, or more honoured by

Augustus; kings and emperors bowed before his words; he was the "*clerc*" *par excellence*, the greatest poet, and the most learned of men. In this travestied personage it is easy to recognize the Virgil of the mediæval schools and grammarians, of the text-books of the seven liberal arts. The first part of the work before us ends with the Virgil of the *Divina Commedia*, and of the *Dolopathos*, in which we see the summary of all that goes before. They represent the two extremes of Virgil's mediæval celebrity: the noble idea of a rare and powerful mind, and the trivial idea of a vulgar mind combined with romantic elements; they belong to different tendencies, and are both distinct from the scholastic conception which was their common source, though one exceeded it as much in loftiness and dignity as the other fell short in poverty and coarseness. After Dante we come to the revival of letters and the beginning of modern thought, both of which lie beyond the limits of the present inquiry; while the Virgil of *Dolopathos*, by the introduction of a romantic element, leads the way to a study of the poet's fame in a different region from that already handled, and so brings us to the second part of the work.

The subject of the second part of Professor Comparetti's work is Virgil as a *magician*—a character which was seldom ascribed to those ancient sages, amongst whom, as we have seen, Virgil was reckoned, and then only momentarily or in consequence of a confusion of names; for though every magician, according to the notions of the middle ages, was a wise man, not every wise man was a magician. No other ancient sage has been made the subject of a legend so circumstantial and complete as that of the sorcerer Virgil. Such a legend could only arise if a special popular idea of Virgil existed quite independently of literature, and, in fact, a closer investigation shows clearly that the conception of Virgil as sorcerer and thaumaturge was originally derived from the people, though it was subsequently absorbed in the literary tradition, with which it had some points of kindred. The "people" in this case was the Italian people. And here it may be observed that there is often a foundation of ancient historic or mythological facts for the legends which took their rise in Italy; still more commonly they are suggested by ancient monuments, though sometimes nothing but the names preserved in them are ancient, for many of the great Roman names lingered in the memory after they had been dissociated from the facts with which history connected them, though they might still be associated with some characteristic trait; but whatever historical circumstances might survive, could only do so in a form adapted to the comprehension of men and women of the populace, like her of whom Dante says:—

" . . . Traendo alla rocca la chioma
Favoleggiava colla sua famiglia
De' Trojani, e di Fiesole e di Roma."

A most striking proof of what has just been asserted is afforded by the legend of Virgil which took its rise in Naples, and thence spread over the whole of European literature, but most rapidly and vigorously out of Italy. In that country the legend was essentially a popular product, free from all poetical or literary admixture, a popular belief, superstitious in character, and founded partly upon local reminiscences of Virgil's long residence at Naples, and partly on the presence and celebrity of his tomb in that city. The superstitions related to places, images, and monuments in Naples, to which it was supposed that Virgil had imparted a talismanic potency. These legends remained peculiar to the people of Naples without finding any poetical or artistic expression; in the other parts of Italy they were little

known or considered, but foreign visitors to Naples collected them, and, thus transferred from their native plebeian to cultivated and literary spheres, they made their appearance simultaneously in popular romance and in learned Latin works. In both spheres the idea of Virgil as a typical sage was already of such a character as to secure an easy acceptance for the legends. And so it came to pass that, after the twelfth century, that is to say, after the rise of the so-called romantic fiction, in prose and verse, we encounter a new, and, what is more, a popular phase of Virgilian renown, with various springs and accretions, and a history peculiar to itself. We do not call this phase popular because it continued strange to learning and the learned, for our knowledge of its history is in great part derived from works by the latter class; but because, as has been said, it arose amongst the people, and was nourished upon popular ideas. Amongst the earlier works bearing on the investigation, three are of importance from the fulness of their details, all written in Latin, and intended for the higher classes of society; that by Konrad of Querfurt, Chancellor of the Emperor Henry VI., and his viceregent in Naples and Sicily, afterwards Bishop of Hildesheim; another by Gervasius of Tilbury, an Englishman by birth, Professor of Law at the University of Bologna, and a Marshal of the Empire at Arles under Otho IV.; and lastly that of Alexander Neckam, foster-brother of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Professor at the University of Paris, and Abbot of the Augustinian monastery at Cirencester. The two first not only give us the earliest account of the Virgilian legends, which they gathered in Naples itself from popular tradition, but they point to a Neapolitan origin for the tradition, which is confirmed from other independent sources. Konrad mentions the legends in a letter from Sicily addressed to his friend, the prior of a monastery at Hildesheim, in 1194, in which he describes his impressions of Italian travel. This letter is a very remarkable monument of the spirit in which even educated foreigners at that time visited Italy. Their imagination was heated, and they had formed at a distance such a phantastic conception of the country whose name was so glorious, that even a near vision of the reality failed to shake their beliefs. A thousand strange tales which they had heard before, a thousand classical reminiscences of half-forgotten school lore, crowded on the visitor's brain, who seemed, as in an enchanted land, to see very different and much greater things than he really did see. In no other way can one explain the gross absurdities which the worthy Chancellor writes down with quite distracting gravity and good faith. What had he not seen in Southern Italy! Olympus, Parnassus, the Hippokrene, and he is delighted to find that all these wonders are contained within the German dominion. After passing with profound awe between Scylla and Charybdis he finds—Heaven knows where!—the island of Scyrus, where Thetis kept Achilles concealed, and he was made happy in Taormina by the sight of the Minotaur's labyrinth, and by introduction to the Saracens, a people possessing the same enviable faculty as St. Paul, of killing snakes with their spittle. He fulfilled punctually his master's commands to raze the walls of Naples, and yet did not hesitate about accepting the belief then prevailing amongst the inhabitants of the city, that these very walls had been erected by Virgil, who had provided a palladium for their defence, to wit, a small model (*imago*) of the town, contained in a narrow-necked flask. Konrad ought certainly to have been the first to doubt the efficacy of the palladium; but there is no shaking the faith of those determined to believe, and accordingly Konrad says that the failure of the talisman was accounted for by the presence of a slight rift in the flask, which the Germans also succeeded in discovering on close

inspection. This might be taken for a jest but for the whole tone of the letter, and the numerous other absurdities recorded with equal seriousness. We now come to Gervasius of Tilbury, who, in his *Otia Imperialia*, written for the amusement of the Emperor Otho IV., has given us as it were an encyclopædia of fables and usages of all kinds, forming a most valuable authority for the history of popular superstitions. Many of his Virgilian legends are substantially identical with those related by Konrad, though there is the degree of variation in points of detail usually met with in oral traditions such as they both relied upon. Others again are peculiar to himself, and transport us at once to Naples at the end of the twelfth century, when the legends still thrived in their original home amongst the people. As for Alexander Neckam, but little is known of his life (1157-1217), and it cannot be positively decided whether he ever visited Naples or not. The date of his work, *De naturis rerum*, is doubtful, but certain indications allow us to infer that it must have been written between 1180-1190, whence it follows that, at that time, the Virgilian legends were known in Europe independently of the writings of Konrad and Gervasius, and must have been disseminated by earlier visitors to the city. For what concerns the substance of these legends, we have already seen that in their earliest form Virgil appears as the protector of Naples, while the wonders ascribed to him consist chiefly of talismans; since, apart from the traditions of antiquity and the importation into Europe of ideas pertaining to the Semitic races, the belief in talismans had gathered strength in the south of Italy during the Byzantine rule. In fact, we find in Constantinople itself objects of the same kind ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana as in Naples to Virgil, and connected in the same way with particular monuments of the city; and the same was the case in Paris at the time of Gregory of Tours. If one connects with the above legends another given by John of Salisbury, who, according to his own statement in 1160, had crossed the Alps ten times, and travelled through the south of Italy, and consequently knew Naples well, one may form an idea of the original form of the Virgil legend as it existed amongst the Neapolitan populace. The leading idea seems to have been that Virgil not only resided in that city, but that he was either its actual ruler, or at least had, by means of his relations with the court, a considerable share in its government; and that in either case he never failed to display an earnest zeal for the public welfare. There were, moreover, various ancient and mediæval monuments to which the vulgar, there as elsewhere, ascribed marvellous and mystical properties, and we have already seen what a halo of profound wisdom seemed to the learned of the middle ages to encircle the name of Virgil, so that the people of Naples were naturally led by the same idea to ascribe all such talismans to him. But as this idea was universal, the question arises how the legend relating to him came to have an exclusively Neapolitan origin; and this is the last and simplest expression to which the problem of the legend can be reduced. To begin with, the existence of Virgil's tomb at Naples is one of the principal facts which explain the survival of his name amongst the traditions of the Neapolitan people. Whatever we may think of the authenticity of the site pointed out now or in the middle ages as the resting-place of the poet, there can be no doubt that Virgil both wished to be and actually was interred at Naples, "via Puteolana intra lapidem secundum," as his biography in Donatus says. This notice is apparently derived from Suetonius' (A.D. 98-138) Life of Virgil, and is confirmed by other statements, which show that Virgil's tomb became one of the chief glories of Naples, and attracted visitors almost in the same way as a favourite

temple of some god, as we have already seen with Silius Italicus and Statius. In the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris still regards the grave of Virgil as the glory of Naples. It is evident that the people of the city, witnessing the veneration in which the poet was held, could not fail to keep at least his name in memory. For the earlier part of the middle ages, it is true, we have no direct information on the subject; but one may fairly conclude from the great and increasing reputation of the poet that the Neapolitans must have been accustomed for centuries to hear the name of Virgil repeated and his grave asked for by every visitor of any degree of cultivation. We see from the same biography how familiar the people of Naples were with his mild, modest expression of countenance, so that they were accustomed from it to call him *Parthenias*. Comparetti also thinks that his name was kept in remembrance partly by plots of ground in the neighbourhood of Naples which had belonged to him, like the *Garden of Virgil* on the present Monte Vergine, of which Gervasius tells that all manner of medicinal herbs grew there. The name of this hill has undergone several transformations, for it was called in the middle ages *Mons Virginis*, *Mons Virginum*, and *Mons Virgilianus*. The latter designation, like the *Garden of Virgil*, is most easily explained by the supposition that the poet had really owned a piece of ground there; and it is certainly clear from Aulus Gellius (ii. 213, cf. Serv. *Æn.* vii., 740) that scarcely 150 years after Virgil's death people spoke of his possessions in that neighbourhood. The circumstances we have mentioned prove sufficiently that Virgil's fame survived in Neapolitan folk-lore even during the ages in which history and written records have nothing to tell us of the mode of its preservation. By way of final result we ascertain that there were two distinct elements in the oldest form of the Neapolitan Virgil legend: first, the name of Virgil connected with the belief in his especial affection for the city of Naples; and secondly, the belief in certain talismans attributed to him. The first element is exclusively Neapolitan, and goes back, perhaps, to the time when he lived at Naples and chose to be buried there; the second is not originally peculiar to Naples, and is undoubtedly of later date than the first. The two became amalgamated together because the mediæval idea of Virgil's infinite wisdom, combined with the old recollection of his preference for Naples, caused him to be credited with works of wonder that were supposed to be of public utility as well as creations of secret and profound knowledge. In this oldest form of the legend Virgil never appears in a ludicrous light, and all thought of magic or diabolical arts is rigorously excluded. Gervasius of Tilbury attributes Virgil's talismans to the *ars mathematica*, i.e. astrology; and Boccaccio, who lived later, when the Virgil legend had already begun to change its character, did not think he was injuring the fame of the poet he honoured so highly by making him accomplish his wonders by the help of "*strologia*," as he had been a "*solenissimo strologo*," an idea which we find expressed before by Servius and others. But here arises the further question, when the belief in these talismans arose in Naples, and when it became associated with the name of Virgil. And to this our written authorities can give no reply, for it would be folly to suppose that ideas of the kind were no older than the earliest mention of them which we chance to find in John of Salisbury. Everyone who has studied legendary lore knows how slowly and secretly the mythology of different nations forms itself, and then all at once rises to the surface amongst writers of books—a process which leaves it probable that part, and probably the greater part, never reaches us at all, but falls a prey to oblivion. We need not therefore be surprised at not meeting with the Virgil legends before the

twelfth century, for it was exactly in that century that light began to break upon the inner life of the Italian towns, and therefore of Naples as well, which then began to issue from its state of isolation, and formed a part of the new kingdom founded by Roger, while it increased so much in importance and consideration as to become ere long the capital of an influential state.

We turn now to the later legends respecting Virgil, in which he appears as a *magician*, and here it must be observed that the first and most radical change in the structure of legends always begins when they leave the soil from which they sprang, especially when they owe their existence to some local, historical, or traditional motive. In strange countries they cannot of course be understood as easily as in their native home, and so they are exposed to be misunderstood and metamorphosed. Thus while the primitive Virgil legend could not tell of diabolical arts because the feeling of the Neapolitans forbade the belief that their town owed its supposed advantages to such arts, or that Virgil, its protector, could have practised them, these objections lost their weight when the legend spread from Naples all over Europe. Besides this, it was only a step from the *ars mathematica* or *astrologica* to the Black Art or necromancy, and if for the above reasons the Neapolitans declined to take that step, there was nothing to prevent Virgil, who was a heathen to begin with, from being made in other countries to share the fate of Gerbert and other famous students of mathematics and astrology, who were transformed into magicians and necromancers. We need not be surprised at finding the Virgil legend, as soon as it became known beyond Naples, promptly utilized by those *jongleurs*, those *cantores Francigenarum*, who were at once poets, ballad singers, and mountebanks, and had no higher object than to amuse the people in public places by their arts as well as by their *Contes* and *Fabliaux*, and so to charm the money from their pockets; accordingly, so early as the beginning of the thirteenth century we find in the *fabliaux* versions of the Virgil legend which are not to be met with in Naples. Nor did it fare differently amongst men of letters. As with Neckam, who, as we have seen, was probably never at Naples, so with Helinand, the author of a Latin chronicle, who also wrote a little before Gervasius, but cannot either have visited Naples; while from the French poets, popular and courtly, their German imitators of the thirteenth century—Wolfram of Eschenbach, Frauenlob, Eckenel, the author of the *Wartburgkrieg*, &c.—learnt to know Virgil as a magician and necromancer, and thus helped to spread his fame amongst the people as well as amongst the learned. And here it is noticeable that the relations between Virgil and Naples, characteristic of the oldest Virgil legends, always occupied a very subordinate place in the learned tradition; for Virgil was one of the most conspicuous figures in the ancient literary world, and his name therefore could not be separated from the natural centre of the latter; the legendary Virgil could not exist apart from the legendary Rome. How could it be believed that he whose magic arts had done such wonders for the benefit of Naples, should have done nothing for Rome, *Roma aurea*, *Roma caput mundi*, Rome whose origin he had made immortal in immortal verse? This omission in the Neapolitan legends had to be supplied, and was supplied as soon as they began to spread over Europe. We find accordingly in Neckam and Helinand a Roman Virgil legend, that of the *Salvatio Romæ*, which refers to the capitol, and it must be admitted that the invention of such legends did not call for any great exercise of the imagination. For as in Naples the belief in certain miraculous objects existed independently of Virgil's name, which was arbitrarily associated with them by the people, things of

the same kind had long existed in Rome, and it was easy to give them a godfather in the mode already practised by the Neapolitans. The only difference was that the Neapolitan legends acquired a Virgilian cast in Naples and at the hand of the Neapolitan people, while the Virgil legends of Rome were invented outside the city, in more literary fashion, and certainly in imitation of those of Naples. The above-named legend of the *Salvatio Romæ* is the earliest instance connecting Virgil with Rome; for though we know that Virgil possessed a house on the Esquilinum, he does not seem usually to have resided in Rome, and even had he done so, the fact would have left less vivid recollections than at Naples; for the inhabitants of the capital of the greatest empire in the world were too much accustomed to striking personalities and remarkable things of all kinds to retain so deep and lasting an impression of Virgil's personality, though they might be able to recognize and acknowledge his value. Accordingly when we find in Rome this or that monument connected with the name of Virgil we are not to see in this the result of a living tradition respecting him preserved by the Roman people, but only a reflection of the Neapolitan legend transplanted to Rome. When the latter had, in the thirteenth century, made its way into all parts of Europe, it became more and more developed, in all sorts of versified works, especially some French ones which were much read; such as the *Image du Monde*, the *Roman des Sept Sages*, the *Cleomades*, as also in the German rhyming chronicle of Enenkel (1250); and in the fourteenth century *Renart Contrefait*, the *Violier des Histoires romaines*, a translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*, &c., &c. In all these works Rome was naturally the chief scene of Virgil's exploits; for even when the Neapolitan legends were retained, they were sometimes so far altered as to be transferred to Rome, while the number of those peculiar to Rome increased. And at this point it was natural to transfer to Virgil, whose transformation into a magician was already complete, the stories told of eminent personages whose destinies resembled his own, so, for instance, the Gerbert legend which tended the more to be confounded with the Virgilian, as many well-known authors had related the one as well as the other. The Sibyl legend must also be noticed here on account of its relation to Virgil. At the time to which the magical part of the Virgil legend belongs, there was a widely-spread belief that the Sibyl had prophesied the coming of Christ; it originated amongst the Apologists, and had then, after the twelfth century, been introduced by ecclesiastical writers to the religious world, and took firm root even amongst the laity. Now as the prophecy in the fourth eclogue of Virgil, which was applied to Christ, was familiar to the whole religious world in the middle ages, the popularity of the Sibyl was transferred to his account, and this the more easily, as he was already popular in other ways. Sermons, especially about Christmas time, gave frequent occasion to couple his name with that of the Sibyl; and in Christian art the two were often placed side by side, or else the passage of the eclogue was added to paintings of the Sibyl, and lastly, in more than one religious mystery-play amongst other characters Virgil and the Sibyl appeared together. Hence and through many other circumstances it came to pass that the original conception of Virgil as a prophet of Christ passed through several phases, and finally connected itself with one of the legends respecting him, which related how Virgil became a magician, or procured the book from which he learnt magic art; though the same legend is to be found in other versions without any reference to this prophecy. The legend of Virgil's skill in magic elaborated itself more and more, and penetrated further and further into all Latin and German countries; it was familiar to every writer, and it was the more certain to grow that the

proverb "On ne prête qu'aux riches" holds good also of romantic legends.

A more abstract expression of the idea formed of the magician Virgil may be found in a curious Latin book, which does not, indeed, contain any Virgil legends, but is connected with him by the name which the author assumes, and by the nature of the things contained in the work. It bears the title *Virgilii Cordubensis philosophia*, and this Cordovan Virgil is ostensibly an Arabian philosopher whose work was translated into Latin at Toledo in 1290. The author, however, was certainly no Arab, and knew very little of Arabian matters, or he would never have believed that an Arabian philosopher could be called Virgil, much less have mentioned Seneca, Averroes, Avicenna, and Algazel as his contemporaries at Cordova. He is a charlatan who wished to attract consideration by taking the name of Virgil and the character of an Arab sage. With rare impudence he relates at the beginning of his book how the most learned men from all quarters of the globe, who met together at Toledo to discuss the most difficult problems, used to appeal to him because they knew how vast was the knowledge of all secret and abstruse subjects which he had attained to by means of the science called by others *necromantia*, but by him *refulgentia*. The Latinity of the book swarms with the grossest blunders; the philosophical idea is a gigantic hodge-podge of rabbinical and Christian doctrines, amongst others that of a triune God. Of Virgil there is nothing but the name, and yet one sees from the whole nature of the work that the author's reason for assuming it lay in the ideal conception of Virgil the magician; just as a similar conception of Virgil's relation to the study of grammar led the no less mad grammarian Maro Virgilius of Toulouse (perhaps sixth century) to assume the same name. This correspondence between the results produced in two totally different phases of the Virgilian name, is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of that name, which has not only, in the course of its varying fortunes, undergone the influence of many changes in the world of thought, but also resumes them so vividly in itself that it has become their symbol and representative. The legend, however, did not spare Virgil a single trait belonging to the popular conception of a magician and adept in the Black Art, for when once he had been accepted in this character, and the legendary nucleus of which it was the development had become familiar to all, everything else followed as a matter of course, so that, at last, his legend, instead of being a simple register of miraculous works associated with his name, came to contain a series of incidents portraying his personality and presenting the elements of a biography. To these elements must be added another part that may be called sporadic, and consists of narratives to which the name of Virgil is seldom attached, and which are not included in collections bearing on his magical exploits; his name seems rather to have been added arbitrarily by some editor or compiler from association of ideas, without the incident being of any importance or recurring anywhere else. This is especially the case in the *Gesta Romanorum*. There is one more side wanting to complete the legendary form of Virgil, for it was impossible that such a familiar favourite in the world of romance should always, in spite of the fame of his actions, have avoided coming in contact with the fair sex. And the legend is far from being deficient in this particular, where the omission would certainly have been abnormal. The spirit in which the subject is treated may be guessed by anyone who considers that notwithstanding a few pure pictures presented by hagiography and Christian legend, notwithstanding the incense liberally offered to women in romances, tournaments, and courts of love, the female sex has never been more

shamefully abused, ridiculed, and degraded than was the case during the middle ages in the works of grave theologians, as well as in poetry and on the stage. An incredible number of trivial and obscene stories and anecdotes dragged it through the mire, and, what is scarcely credible at the present day, figured not only in the repertory of the ballad singer who aimed at raising a laugh in open market-places, but in that of the preacher as well, who would relate them from the pulpit, under the pretext, it is true, of some moral to be drawn from them, but really often only with the same motive as the other mountebanks. Anyone who is acquainted with these storehouses of illustration will understand Dante's wrath as he exclaims :—

"Ora si va con motti e con iscede
A predicare, e pur che ben si rida
Gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede."

All the earlier part of the Virgil legend, so far as it relates to women, is in a spirit harmonizing with this degraded view of the female sex. Of the many well-known versions of this class of incident it will be sufficient to allude briefly to three : one in which Virgil makes an assignation with a lady by night, and was to be drawn up to her window in a basket, instead of which she leaves him suspended half way till the morning, so that he saw himself exposed to the ridicule of all Rome, and in consequence executed frightful vengeance on her (a farcical incident of which Bulwer has made use in *Pelham*, of course with omission of the latter part); the story of the *Bocca della Verità*, in which a faithless wife artfully clears herself from guilt without direct falsehood; and lastly, the incident only given in the early English book on Virgil, in which he makes some women believe by glamour that they are passing through water, which causes them to hold up their clothes rather higher than was needful—a practical jest which is mentioned here chiefly because it seems to me, like other Virgil legends, to be derived from India (cf. Polier, *Mythologie des Indous*, ii. 40-42). If we return to the general character of these legends we see that, with the exception of those taken down by Konrad and Gervasius at Naples, they were nearly all first applied to Virgil out of Italy, and found little acceptance amongst Italian writers. The most important Neapolitan record bearing on the Virgil legend is the *Cronica di Partenope* by Bartolomeo Caraccalo dicto Carafa, cavaliere di Napoli, which goes down to the year 1382, and, as the author himself says, is a compilation from different chronicles, a character which it preserves even in what relates to Virgil, for though himself a Neapolitan, the author does not restrict himself to the traditions still current in his native place, but incorporates everything bearing on his subject in Gervasius and a certain Alexander, both of whom he quotes. If by the latter he means Alexander Neckam, he can only have read his work *De naturis rerum* in a mutilated and interpolated MS., or in extracts by some other author, or in some imperfect and incorrect version. Besides a few additions conceived in the same spirit as the rest, we find the legend substantially the same in the fourteenth as in the twelfth century. Nothing diabolical is ever attributed to Virgil; on the contrary, the author always speaks of him with the greatest reverence, and is never tired of calling him "esimio poeta," while there is not the slightest allusion to his gallant adventures. In lower Italy the Neapolitan legends seem to have been nearly as well known as in Naples; but in the rest of the country they spread slowly, at least until the fourteenth century, when the national and the foreign element became likewise fused, partly as a consequence of the relations which are well known to have existed at that time between the literature of Italy and the rest of Europe.

At Rome too, as has been said, the name of Virgil was in the first instance only connected with separate spots or monuments, such as the *Casa di Virgilio* (the Temple of Jupiter Pluvius), the *Torre di Virgilio* (the Meta sudans), the *Scuola di Virgilio* (the Septizonium), and if we connect these names with the report of the annoyances to which Petrarch was exposed at the Roman court on account of his Virgilian studies, we may reasonably conjecture that at that time the charge of magic in its worst sense was held to blot the fair fame of the poet in Rome. But this idea did not arise there earlier than elsewhere, for while the MSS. of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ* (the guide-book of the mediæval traveller or tourist at Rome) belonging to the twelfth century contain no notice of Virgil's name, in the thirteenth century the Viminal hill is mentioned as the place "from whence Virgil, having made himself invisible, departed to Naples from his prison." The same circumstance is mentioned in the Mantuan rhymed chronicle of Bonaventura Aliprando, composed in 1414. We must take this occasion of pointing out that, of the three towns associated with Virgil's life, Naples was the one in which he left the most lively impressions, while Mantua, where he was born, but seems seldom to have resided, never produced any fanciful reminiscences of his person. Of course, Mantua did not forget, in the middle ages, that it was the poet's birth-place, and some localities in the neighbourhood bore his name, or otherwise commemorated his existence; but these were, rightly or wrongly, connected with real events or circumstances in Virgil's life, and excluded any notion of miraculous powers. Aliprando's chronicle, moreover, shows, by its primitive style and the absurdities heaped together in it, that if Mantua had had any peculiar Virgil legends, the author was the very man to have retailed them conscientiously, if they had come to his knowledge; but we find nothing of the sort. Speaking generally, the Virgil legend never took the same proportions in Italy as in other countries; we hear only, as it were, a faint echo of the ample narratives which, beyond the Alps, trace out his character as a sorcerer and a dealer in all the devil's arts. It is the more intelligible that these legends failed to thrive in Italy if we consider that there, just at this time, classical studies were beginning to revive; and in proportion as the ancient authors began to be studied with methodical earnestness and their real character ascertained, the traditional admiration, with its artificial or legendary adjuncts, of which they had been the objects during the middle ages, naturally tended to disappear. In Italy, where the torch of such studies was first relighted, the Virgil legend burnt its wings and had to keep aloof so that it could only flutter timidly about, protected with great pains by superstition and burlesque. We come now to the last phase through which the Virgil legend passed outside Italy. This consisted naturally in a kind of synthesis of all its predecessors, of which it, at the same time, gave the final result. The legends in point are collected together into a circumstantial biography in the Liège Chronicle of Jean d'Outremeuse, called *Myreur des Histors*, a compilation from writers of various dates down to the end of the fourth century. The life of Virgil is mixed up with other narratives which from time to time interrupt the chronological order, yet it is easy to consider it as a separate work which the author afterwards divided and introduced at different points in his chronicle; it is in several respects a curious composition. The author has amplified or developed the old materials before him, but he has kept the historical Virgil as much at a distance as possible; and this although Aliprando and others had made use of the notices of Virgil given by Donatus, and even Jean d'Outremeuse had some knowledge of the poet's

own works and the earlier accounts of his life. The scene of Virgil's exploits is still, according to him, Rome and Naples; but he was not of Italian origin, but the son of Gorgilius, King of Bugia, in Lybia. Setting forth in search of adventures, he comes to the country of the Latins, whose king, the uncle of Julius Cæsar, tells him so much about Rome that he wished to go there, and finally did so. This sample may suffice, as we have no space here to enter further upon this farrago of fantastic absurdities, though to do so might not have been entirely without interest, and only observe that Jean d'Outremeuse cannot have had any influence on the life of the legend, because, though he brought all the scattered anecdotes of Virgil together and worked them up into a coherent whole, the result was concealed from public notice in an obscure and voluminous chronicle. In fact the book on Virgil which was most popular and most widely known in Europe after the sixteenth century, has few stories in common with the version of Jean d'Outremeuse, and possesses quite a different character. It is easy to see that it had its origin in France, and that after the invention of printing. Its title is *Les faits merveilleux de Virgille*. In consequence of its popularity it was translated into English, Dutch, and Icelandic, the translations containing few departures from the original. The idea of Virgil as a Christian prophet, which is so elaborately developed in the Liège chronicle, is entirely wanting in the popular version, and so are many of the other wonders which the chronicler had gathered together from every direction. On the other hand, some parts of the legend are much more freely handled.

Here closes the long list of the strange and various vicissitudes of Virgil's fame, down to the end of the middle ages. After the sixteenth century the Virgilian legend disappears, and the memory of it is only kept alive by students; for the power of credulity tottered and fell before the rising light, the irresistible advance of reason and criticism, before the philosophy of experience which prescribed the only true road to a knowledge of truth. After the middle ages the Virgil legend was only kept alive by oral tradition in its native home in Naples and Sicily, and there, too, it is now extinct. A young Neapolitan scholar, a diligent student of folk-lore, has assured Comparetti that he has never met with any traces of it, though the latter believes himself to have discovered something of the kind amongst the people in the vicinity of the Grotto of Pozzuoli and in other places in the south of Italy; while the following love song was heard not long since by a friend of Comparetti, sung by a peasant girl near Lecce:—

"Diu! ci tanissi l'arte da Vargiliu!
'Nnati le porte to'nducia lu mare,
Ca da li pisci me facia pupillu,
'Mmienza le riti to' enia 'ncappare;
Ca di l'acelli me facia cardillu,
'Mmienza lu piettu to' lu nitu a fare;
E suttu l'ombra de li to' capilli
Enia de menzugiurnu a reppure."

(Dio! ch'avessi l'arte di Virgilio! Innanzi le porte tue condurrei il mare. Perché tra i pesci mi farei un pesciolino.—In mezzo alle reti tue andrei incappare;—Tra gli uccelli mi farei un cardellino.—In mezzo al tuo petto il nido a fare;—E sotto l'ombra dei tuoi capelli—Andrei di mezzo giorno a riposare.)

Here ends the second section and volume of the work before us, which examines with exhaustive learning every side of the subject to which it is devoted. It has only been possible here to indicate shortly its principal results, without dwelling on details, such as the particular actions and prodigies ascribed to Virgil as a magician, the origin of which is in each case carefully investigated by the author. But enough must have been said to prove the scientific

value and the interesting character of the whole. We must not omit to mention that the author has reprinted at the end of his second part all the original passages in Latin, Italian, French, and German writers which refer to Virgil as a magician, and are either of importance for the subject or not easily accessible (as for instance the whole of the popular French book, *Les faits merveilleux de Virgille*), and for this, too, we must be grateful. If the treatment is sometimes more diffuse than might have been wished, and the author has not always avoided digressions and repetitions, these are but slight blemishes in comparison with the solid merits of the work.

FELIX LIEBRECHT.

Intelligence.

Dr. O. Donner has published, at Helsingfors, a very modest but complete history of Finnish philology, with a bibliographical summary. An account of it is given by M. Sayous in our excellent contemporary, the *Revue Critique*, for January 18th.

Contents of the Journals.

Zeitschrift der deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft. Vol. xxvi. Nos. 3 and 4.—Himyaritic inscriptions explained by F. Praetorius; with fac-similes—Indian medicine; Caraka; by R. Roth. [Translated extracts.] Contributions to the explanation of the Avesta, by Hübschmann. From Dschâmî's love songs, by F. Rückert. Decipherment and explanation of the Armenian cuneiform inscriptions of Van and the neighbourhood, by A. D. Mordtmann. [Ingenious and exhaustive, but unsatisfactory. It is clear that the explanation of the inscriptions cannot be sought for in Armenian or any other Aryan dialect. But the paper is an indispensable foundation for future researches. The mutilated inscription I. is written in Assyrian, not Armenian as Dr. M. assumes.] Towards the explanation of the Avesta, by F. Spiegel. [Answer to Roth.] On the latest Moabitish discoveries; account of journey by L. Weser, of Jerusalem. On the Saptacatakam of Håla, by A. Weber. Himyaritic contributions by F. Praetorius. Hebrew etymologies; by G. M. Redslob. On the verb פָּרַס, by Dr. Zunz.

Linguistic matters from Muhammedan mystic literature, by I. Goldziher. New Moabitish discoveries and riddles; third report, by K. Schlottmann. Linguistic remarks on Wright's Apocryphal Acts, by Dr. Geiger. Notices and correspondence. Notes of the Oriental MSS. of the Mediceo-Laurentian library at Florence, by Fausto Lasinio. [Corrections of Assemani and Biscioni.] The poet Niculo, by Siegf. Goldschmidt. More about alphabetic and acrostich hymns of Ephrem, by G. Bickell. Reply to Dr. Schrader, by J. Oppert. [On the question whether the list of Assyrian eponyms is complete or not, and whether the chronology of the Books of Kings can be maintained.] Extracts from letters of Drs. Schlottmann, Magnus, and Harkavy. [Rödiger agrees with Schlottmann as to the genuineness of the Moabitish inscriptions explained by the latter.] Jäschke's *Handwörterbuch der tibet. Sprache*, rev. by Schlagintweit. Thorbecke's edition of Hariri's *Durrat al-Gawwās*, rev. by Socin. Martin's *Œuvres grammaticales de Bar-Hebraeus*, rev. by Nöldeke.

Philologischer Anzeiger.—Vol. iv. Parts IX. and X. The most important works noticed are:—*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Vol. v. p. 1., ed. Th. Mommsen.—*Skerla*, Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch von *idēu* in Homer. [Attempts to distinguish the Act. and Mid. senses.]—*H. Duntzer*, Kirchhoff, Köchly, und die Odyssee.—*H. Thide*, Prolegomena ad hymnum in Venerem homericum iv. [Gives a very probable view of the date and local associations of the poem.]—*H. Berger*, Die geographischen Fragmente des Hipparch. [Lays the foundation of a correct estimate of the relation of Hipparchus to Eratosthenes and Strabo.]—*T. Mommsen*, Bemerkungen zum 1. Buch der Satyren des Horaz.—*Cornelius Tacitus*, a *C. Nipperdeio* recognitus. P. 1.—*C. Bücher*, Questionum Amphictyoniarum specimen.—*Lucianus Samosatensis*. *Fr. Fitzschius* recensuit.—*Jul. Sommerbrodt*, *Lucianea*.—*Procksch*, Gebrauch der Nebensätze bei Cæsar.—*Ad. Franz*, M. Aurelius Cassiodorus.—*Gerb.* von Rath, Ein Ausflug nach Calabrien. [Many illustrations or traces of classical antiquity.]

Curlius Studien zur Griechischen und Lateinischen Grammatik (Hirzel: Leipzig) v. 2. opens with a lengthy article "De titulum ionicorum dialecto." Brugman's discussion of the physiology of the letter *r* in the Indo-European languages is highly instructive as far as it goes. The article "De sonorum affectionibus quæ percipiuntur in dialecto Neo-Loecrica," by a young Locrian of the name Chalkiopoulos, is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of modern Greek, though his notions of comparative philology are rather crude. The writer on Roman proper names in *a* is wrong in thinking that the old Irish *corpimagas* goes with Latin names in *a* and not with the masculines in

125. Prof. Hadley's paper on Greek accentuation, though published before, still deserves to be pointed out as containing the newest and most rational account of the subject ever given; possibly in a generation or two his views may find their way even into the most conservative of our public schools. The editor republishes a paper of his own on aoristic forms discovered in Latin: among others the following are pointed out in early Latin:—tago, tagam, tagit, attigas fuat, attulat.

New Publications.

- HALÉVY, J. Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen. (Contains the text of 680 inscriptions, with the translation of more than 200 of them) Paris.
- LENORMANT, F. Études accadiennes. Deux parties. Paris: Maison-neuve.
- WESKE, M. Untersuchungen zur vergleichenden Grammatik des Finnischen Sprachstammes. Leipzig: Breitkopf u. Härtel.
- WHITNEY, W. D. Oriental and Linguistic Studies. New York. 1873.

ERRATA IN No. 65.

- Page 46, col. 2, midway, for "King's" read "Queen's."
- " 48, " 1, CONTENTS, line 5, for "Djahid" read "Djalud."
- " 48, " 2, line 4, for "Græca" read "Græce."

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